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LABOR CHALLENGE

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TORONTO, JANUARY, 1949

PRICE: 5 Cents

23,777 VOTE FOR R.W.P. CANDIDATE

01-01-1a

Dowson Makes Big Gains As LPP and CCF Drop

Voice of Trotskyism



Shown above is the election sound-car which was widely and effectively used by the Toronto branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party during the recent campaign, to bring the message of socialism to the workers of Toronto at factory gates and on busy streets.

The banner-bearer of the party was Ross Dowson, shown at left, our candidate for mayor. His poll was more than 50 per cent higher than the RWP vote for the mayoralty last year.

On January 1st one out of five who went to the Toronto polls to elect a City Council cast their mayoralty vote for Ross Dowson, the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party. The RWP rolled up 23,777 votes or almost 20 per cent of the total vote cast. Dowson was sole opponent of the Tory incumbent, Hiram E. McCallum, who polled 97,715 votes to lead the Tory-Liberal slate back into office.

Last year the RWP vote was 15,423 and the year previous 3,201. Not only is this a phenomenal increase over previous years but it was won in the face of several decisive defeats and drops in votes suffered by other labor candidates.

All eight CCF candidates endorsed for City Council by the Toronto Labor Council (CCL-CIO) were defeated. The RWP candidate polled a higher vote on a ward basis than did several of the CCF-CCL candidates. A lone CCFer was re-elected to the Board of Education with the support of the capitalist press.

STALINIST CAMPAIGN

Key figure in the extensive Stalinist Labor Progressive Party campaign, Stewart Smith, running for a post on the four man Board of Control which is elected on a city wide basis, again went down to defeat. This year Smith's vote was 43,384, a drop of almost 6,000 votes. The LPP maintained its representation of two on the Council, with slightly increased votes and added another to its single seat on the Board of Education.

The RWP vote was a hard won vote. Last year the capitalist press treated the Trotskyist campaign as a joke, and gave its candidates some coverage in the reports of the various election meetings. This year, despite the greater interest in the party's program and the warm support in CCF working class areas the RWP campaign was almost completely blacked out.

The party's request for endorsement of its candidate from the Toronto AFL Council was not even presented to the floor. At the CCL-CIO Council it was snowed under in a campaign of abuse launched against the Stalinist candidates, who, fearful that they might get rejected, did not even request endorsement.

What They Said

"Every vote Mr. Dowson got was a Communist vote. I think that there are at least 23,777 Communists in Toronto."

Mayor McCallum, Star, Jan. 3, 1949

"At the same time 43,384 Toronto people voted for a Communist candidate for the Board of Control. And 23,777 voted for a mayoralty candidate who stood for the Revolutionary Workers Party. Neither got in. But their defeat doesn't offset the strength of their support."

Financial Post, Jan. 8, 1949

"Toronto prides itself upon being a loyal and democratic community. Yet one out of every five of those casting votes for a mayor supported a man whose party wants to start a revolution."

Editorial, Globe and Mail, Jan. 3, 1949

"Apart from the decisive rejection of the two year term the feature of the election was the impressive vote registered for Ross Dowson, candidate of the revolutionary workers party. Obviously this vote was not polled by Trotskyites, or by people who want a world revolution."

Editorial, Star, Jan. 3, 1949

The Stalinist Canadian Tribune Jan. 10 . . . not a word.

But friends and sympathizers rallied behind the party to make this the most effective, the most dynamic socialist electoral campaign that this city has yet seen.

Almost 50,000 copies of the party's election program and copies of Labor Challenge were distributed at factory gates and door to door in working class areas. The branch's sound car, emblazoned with signs—Vote Trotskyist, Vote Labor, Vote Dowson Mayor, and the party's

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23,777 Vote for RWP-- Big Gains for Dowson As LPP and CCF Drop

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name and address, toured shopping areas and greeted workers at factory gates to help mobilize the class conscious labor vote behind Dowson.

On two occasions the party took to the air to broadcast its program, to advance the message of the socialist revolution to thousands of workers of Toronto and the surrounding industrial areas. The first broadcast appears on page three of this issue.

The second broadcast dealt with the two year term that the Tory machine tried for the third time to foist onto the electorate. It linked up the two year term with the ugly trend towards totalitarianism that is sweeping this continent.

SECOND BROADCAST

Dowson called upon the workers to cast their vote against the whittling down of civil rights, the red scare and the anti-labor drive which he demonstrated was an essential part of the capitalist preparation for the Third World War. He called upon the workers to cast their vote for socialism and for Trotskyism which has demonstrated in action that it is the only genuine anti-war movement.

On election night Dowson invaded the Globe and Mail editorial rooms, where the successful candidates were thanking their supporters over the air. He conceded "this election but not defeat."

He assured the workers that "the Trotskyists are in this fight to the finish, until capitalism, with its wars and depressions, is done away with and replaced by socialism."

In what sharp contrast was the RWP election campaign to the campaign of the CCF and Stalinist candidates.

With only the exception of Ward 1 and Ward 8 candidates, the CCF capitulated to the capitalist inspired idea that municipal elections are non-political, and ran its candidates as individuals. Thousands of workers went to the polls ignorant of who were the CCF candidates. This fact no doubt partly explains why the CCF, which only a few months previously won the majority of the seats in the Toronto provincial ridings, made such a miserable showing. None of the CCF candidates advanced any program that really distinguished them from the capitalist candidates.

STALINIST OPPORTUNISM

The super colossal Stalinist campaign was even more unprincipled, even more opportunistic. They too ran as individuals; it appears that even the label Labor Progressive Party is too "sectarian" for these people who on Sunday occasions still dare to call themselves "Communists." The extent of their labor program was their adoption of the AFL Council's municipal program which is also endorsed by its Tory president, William Jenoves.

Instead of exposing the Tory Council as the political arm of Bay Street and its members as the representatives of the class enemy, the Stalinists labelled it "the bungling Board" the "inept Board" which only lacked the "sound administrative ability" of Stewart Smith to straighten it up. In this campaign Smith was indistinguishable from the dynamic and demagogic boss politician Lamport who nosed him out of the Board.

On January 10 the Toronto Labor Council discussed a post mortem report of the Political Action Committee. CCFer Parks challenged the Stalinist U.E. leadership that "if they were so strong for unity, no doubt they voted for Dowson. Mayor McCallum said they did and now it seems to be true." President Cotterill (a CCFer) asked: "Did you endorse Dowson?"

"You know the answer to that as well as I do," replied U.E. delegate Repka.

"I didn't think you did. We didn't either," said Cotterill.

DEFY LEADERSHIP

To their shame both the Stalinist and CCF leadership did not support the sole labor candidate opposing Tory McCallum. And by their actions they struck a blow against the principle of independent labor political action which they claim to represent. But the CCF and LPP rank and file defied their leadership and voted Dowson, and on a much greater scale than last year. In Ward 5, looked upon as a Stalinist stronghold, the RWP polled almost 4 per cent more than its average increase and considerable gains were made in Wards 5, 1, and 8.

The RWP campaign and the inspiring support that it won, in contrast to the LPP and CCF campaigns and their bitter results, is no doubt causing considerable ferment in the minds of the rank and file of both parties.

INTEREST IN TROTSKYISM

Many Stalinist workers are showing a genuine interest in Trotskyism. Already a youth group of the Stalinist dominated United Jewish Peoples Order has held a forum where CCF, LPP and RWP representatives spoke on "Elections as My Party Views Them." Certainly the Trotsky-fascist slander that the LPP leadership has been propagating has received a staggering blow.

The RWP has made great headway in this campaign. The party has received many enquiries about its program. In a statement to the press Dowson said: "It confirms us in our unshakeable conviction that we will conquer over our enemies and usher in the peace, freedom and planning of socialism here in Canada. The task now is to consolidate this inspiring campaign by building the party of the socialist revolution . . . the Revolutionary Workers Party."

RADIO SPEECH HEARD BY TORONTO

WORKERS

We are publishing herewith the full text of the first radio broadcast in the RWP mayoralty campaign in Toronto, delivered over Station CKEY on Dec. 27.

INTRODUCTION by DAVID WILLIAMS

The Revolutionary Workers Party, through these two broadcasts, intends to partially present its program to you and to introduce its candidate for the office of Mayor of Toronto, Ross Dowson.

The Revolutionary Workers Party is the sole representative in this country of the authentic socialism of Marx, Engels, and of Lenin and Trotsky.

We are called Trotskyists and we are proud to bear that name. For Trotsky—side by side with Lenin—was the leader and organizer of the Russian Revolution—the greatest and most progressive social action in all history. Even more than that, Trotsky up to the very moment of his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in Mexico City eight years ago, defended the Russian Revolution—and the principles of world labor emancipation which it embodied—against the Stalinist betrayers who are defaming its liberating ideas and undermining its conquests.

Trotskyism is a world-wide movement which unites revolutionary militants of all countries and all nationalities, of all races and colors, in a common world organization, founded by Trotsky and known as the Fourth International. The Revolutionary Workers Party is the Canadian section of the Fourth International. UNLIKE the United Nations that represents the capitalist rulers of this world, it is the sole organization in which the international solidarity of the world's working masses finds political expression.

Ross Dowson, the mayoralty candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party, has spent nearly all of his active life in the socialist and labor movement. He played an active part in the unemployed youth movement in the late thirties. He became a steelworker and a steward in the United Steelworkers Union of America (CIO). In 1936 he joined the struggle to re-organize our crumbling society on a rational basis and bring that new birth of freedom, peace and prosperity which is socialism. Ten years later he was elected National Secretary of our party, the Revolutionary Workers Party, and has been for some time now editor of our monthly paper, Labor Challenge.

It is my great privilege to introduce to you this evening the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party for Mayor of the City of Toronto, Ross Dowson.

Citizens of Toronto:

No one any longer dares to say that all is well with the world.

Only three years have passed since World War II which the capitalist rulers of this world promised would usher in the millennium, and they are feverishly

and madly preparing for a war that threatens mankind with atomic destruction.

No one even disputes the fact that another depression with its poverty and unemployment, is on the way—the only question is not "will it come" but "when?"

The capitalist system no longer has any staunch and convinced apostles; it has only snivelling apologists. All the candidates of the Liberal and Tory parties recognize the discontent of the people, but attempt to direct it off into back alleys, and drown it with endless side issues. They attempt to hide the real problem that confronts the working people.

The Revolutionary Workers Party in its third mayoralty campaign boldly and clearly labels as the enemy of mankind, the capitalist system and its Liberal and Tory apologists. It summons the working people of this city to the struggle for socialism.

Today, capitalism is not solving a single problem confronting the masses. Does anyone believe, for instance, that there are not enough building supplies to build housing for everyone? Does anyone believe that there is not enough wealth in this city to provide day-care centres and recreational facilities that would cut into the waves of juvenile delinquency? Does anyone believe that there is not enough wealth in this country to ensure a healthy, comfortable life for everyone, free from the constant fear of unemployment, and insecurity in sickness and old age.

We all know that the vast natural resources, the mighty industrial plant, the unexampled skill and energy of our workers, farmers and technicians, are sufficient to abolish poverty and create a rational and harmonious society.

Yes! The wealth and power is here. What is wrong, is that this country and its vast resources are in the grasp of a handful of monopolists who loot and pillage it for their own interests. The masses of the population suffer higher prices, worsening housing conditions, increased taxation, so that the financial oligarchy can boast that this year their loot in dividend payments alone totalled 60 million more than last year's . . . the highest in history.

The capitalist rule of the vast industrial plant of this country is reinforced by their domination of all the organs of government through their twin political stooges, the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties. The Tories and Liberals are the political props of this bankrupt and death-dealing system.

There is a lot of talk in this election about the "bungling Board" or the "Board of No Control" that sits in city hall. But the Tories are not guilty of bungling or ineptitude, and anyone who propagandizes this line is guilty of deceiving the people. The Tories are guilty of ruling the City of Toronto in the interests of the Bay Street monopolists. This is the significance of their failure to do anything about the scandalous housing shortage which is increasing at the rate of 14 houses a day, and has been, every day for the last three years.

This is the significance of their vicious rent gouging of the workers forced to live in the ramshackle emergency housing projects and their rejection of the justified wage demands of the civic employees. This is the significance of their reassessment plot that is certain to thrust higher taxes on the small homeowners and has already knocked thousands out of the graded tax exemption bracket.

In its campaign for Mayor of Toronto, the RWP calls upon the workers of Toronto to reject the Tory and Liberal politicians and to mobilize their great forces for a workers and farmers government. This is the goal of the Revolutionary Workers Party.

Only a workers and farmers government based on direct representation from democratically elected councils of workers, farmers, housewives, soldiers and minority groups can resolve the crisis confronting mankind.

Such a government will initiate the reign of complete and real democracy in every sphere of life. It will take over the means of production, expand and coordinate them in a planned economy and create the conditions for permanent prosperity. It will end the rule of the coupon clippers and put the former capitalists to work at honest toil. Its victory will bring peace and harmony to Canada by doing away with the material cause of class divisions and therefore class conflicts.

The working people of this city must break from the boss parties and move along this road.

Last June in the provincial elections you took a big step in this direction when you swept the Drew-led Tory machine from the majority of Toronto and area seats and elected CCF M.P.s. But through

their criminal inaction the leaders of the CCF and organized labor have failed to provide the working people with a real opportunity of carrying this step forward into the civic field and making this election the preparation it should be, for a thumping labor victory in the coming Federal elections. They have failed the workers by not running a full slate in opposition to the boss candidates and above all in not challenging the Tories for the highest seats in civic office.

The Trotskyists, true to their great historic traditions, have taken on this responsibility and on labor's behalf are challenging the Tories for the mayoralty. The Trotskyists in this election are the symbol of this great principle of labor-independent political action.

The RWP is advancing a program that meets the most pressing needs of the majority of the residents of this city. It is not at all like the hollow and empty promises of the Tory and Liberal enemies of labor. It is a practical program. It is the only practical program because it is a working class program that unconditionally champions the interests of the working people in their struggle against capitalism, and works to organize them for its abolition.

Let us examine one plank in our program.

The Tories and Liberals attempt to excuse themselves from their criminal failure to do anything about the housing shortage with the pretense that there is a shortage of building supplies. But everyone knows that the real estate interests and banks are spending millions to erect theaters, cocktail bars and banks all across the city.

The Tory politicians in city hall protest that nothing can be done. The truth is that they don't want to do anything that would imperil the profiteering of their Bay Street bosses.

City Hall controls the issuance of building permits in this city. An RWP candidate in office would use the power invested in him to refuse to grant building permits for anything but essential building.

If elected I will fight for the control of all construction to be placed in the hands of the building trades workers; for the improvement and extension of emergency housing; no evictions; for rent control of emergency housing under the supervision of the tenants' committees. Dowson as mayor would bring pressure to bear on the Dominion government to divert the millions that it is appropriating for war and destruction, divert it for low rent government housing projects, hospitals, schools and nurseries.

This is one plank in our program and this is the type of program that the working people must rally around.

This program, the program of the Revolutionary Workers Party, is not designed to patch up the dying capitalist system but to protect the interests of the toilers. It is an election program to be supported by the ballot on election day, but it is also a program of action to unite and guide the struggles of the workers on a year-round basis. Its effect depends not only on the support it receives in the City Council but even more on the extent to which it receives support from the masses in the factories, in the unions, etc.

The Revolutionary Workers Party warns the people that the present struggle is so deeply rooted in a bankrupt economic system that it must end either in the complete destruction of civilization or in the socialist reconstruction of society under the leadership of the working class.

You can bring closer the socialist society of peace, plenty, and prosperity by casting your vote for the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party and the program on which I stand.

01-01-3

AFL CHIEFS LAUNCH ASSAULT ON AUTONOMOUS RIGHTS OF TLC

By PAUL KANE

Taking time out from basking in the sun and the high living of posh Miami, the well-heeled bureaucrats of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have launched an undisguised assault on the autonomous rights of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Throwing the full power of their corrupt machine behind the boss-toadying, red-baiting Frank Hall bloc in the TLC, they have pontifically handed down a series of orders that the TLC must obey. "Failure," on the part of the Canadian leadership of the TLC to knuckle down to these demands, they threaten, "will lead to chaotic conditions among the trade unions in Canada."

The attack on the TLC, which represents over 403,000 organized workers, follows a familiar pattern—the Frank Hall pattern. It was Hall, who last year under the guise of fighting "the reds," openly joined forces with the shipping barons to smash the TLC affiliated Canadian Seamen's Union, while it was battling to preserve unionism on the Great Lakes. Hall and his gang of union-busters took over the discredited company-sponsored CLSU and slapped the label of the SIU onto it. The Seafarer's International Union had been declared by the TLC to be a dual union.

The AFL bureaucrats commence their attack on the TLC with the demand that it must purge its ranks of "every vestige of Communist influence." So mouse-like and cringing in relations with the bosses, these bureaucrats, tiger-like, fearlessly, declared to the TLC that they "will not accept any solution to the differences . . . that in any way represent a compromise with Communists."

Stunned by the ferocity and the utterly incredible character of the charge, vice-president of the Congress, Elphage Beaudoin has remarked—"Surely no one can think that the CSU (Stalinist led) dominates the congress. That doesn't make sense."

But the Executive Council is completely cynical and contemptuous of the workers. Confident in the efficiency of its well greased machine it does not even bother to

pretend that this is the real issue—that its charge should "make sense"—that the "red scare" is anything other than a guise to hide and mask its real aim.

The Council is out to force the present leadership of the TLC to kowtow to their rule or face a long and devastating series of jurisdictional disputes and conflicts. As a matter of fact it would appear that the William Green machine has already come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to smash the present TLC leadership. It is already grooming an unprincipled group of scoundrels to take over the TLC—Frank Hall, Johnstone of the Restaurant Union, Shane of the ILGWU, D'Aoust of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers and several other international vice-presidents who have shown that they will be faithful ward-healers.

The Executive Council denounced the TLC for the temporary suspension of the Frank Hall-led Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks during the Victoria convention and demands that "all reference to it be expunged from the records of the Trades and Labor Congress."

Not in a position to pull any fast ones at the annual TLC conventions to ensure the domination of its lackies over the TLC, the Executive Council brazenly demands that the Congress constitution be ripped up, to guarantee that its representatives either pack the Convention or outvote all other delegations.

Voting strength at Congress conventions resides in the local unions on a membership basis. But that's too much for the Greens to swallow. They demand that "the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada amend its constitution so that AFL International unions shall enjoy voting rights in conventions of the TLC in accordance with the amount of per capita tax paid by these organizations."

When questioned about the AFL demand that one delegate be named for each local with voting power for the whole membership, TLC President Bengough replied, "this would mean that the international unions would appoint delegates to our convention, replacing the pres-

ent system of electing them and this way would control not only the Canadian legislative policy of the Congress but also its international policy. In other words, a purely Canadian Congress would be dictated to by a U.S. body."

Vice-president Beaudoin commented that the "AFL system of sending only one delegate for each union would mean we would have about 50 people at our convention, in other words no convention at all." And that is just what the Green gang wants . . . a machined convention where the voice of the workers is not heard or "no convention at all."

The TLC leadership writes down this vicious and premeditated assault on the democratic rights of TLC membership as merely reflecting "the confusion created here by the fact the AFL executive council did not take time to discuss the Canadian problem and did not hear all the evidence. If they had done so I am sure they would have come to a different conclusion." Or as Bengough put it "without being too critical I would say the AFL executive did not devote enough time to the Canadian situation . . ."

But if the autonomy of Canadian labor is to be preserved and the threat of costly jurisdictional warfare that is threatened by the AFL bureaucrats, defeated; a better understanding of the real nature of the problem is required.

This latest development only shows that the interests of labor require a fight to the finish with the Green-backed Hall clique. The Victoria Convention compromise did no good. The hush-hush deal on the imperilled CSU solved nothing. The treacherous actions of the Stalinists, who attempted to lead the militants to believe that they could live with the red-baiters and class collaborators by withdrawing Stalinist Alex Gordon from the executive race and nominating and going down the line for right winger Birt Showler, has only placed the Hall gang in a more favourable position.

It's time to call a halt. It's time to prepare an all-out counter-attack on the Hall forces if the unity of Canadian labor is to be preserved.

LABOR CHALLENGE

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Vol V, No. 1 (66)

January, 1949

Free the Seamen

The National Seamen's Defense Committee failed in its appeal to obtain the release by Christmas of the 55 members of the Canadian Seamen's Union (AFL) imprisoned for their heroic battle to save their union from the combined assault of the shipping moguls, scab herder Frank Hall and the RCMP. The delegation that saw the Solicitor General received only a promise that "each case will be examined on its merits."

The courts, that released Melville Murphy who murderously fired a shot gun blast into five CSU strikers, slapped 23 penitentiary terms on the union men, including Mike Jackson, CSU Great Lakes Director, who got three years in Kingston for "illegally boarding" a ship.

As yet the protest movement against this infamous attack on the CSU has been feeble. The CCL leadership has been strangely mum. Do they hope to justify their treacherous silence because they disagree with the political line of the Stalinist leadership of the CSU?

Let a voice from the prison, the voice of a seaman in Welland County jail, shame them into protest:

"Tomorrow morning prison guards are taking thirteen of us away to Kingston Penitentiary. This may be the last time in two years that we will be able to write you, as we are allowed to send out one letter a month and I guess we will do so to our families. . . . We want you to tell the Canadian people why we are in prison. We want them to know that we were convicted under the Canada Shipping Act which still reeks of Captain Bligh."

"Inform the Canadian people that under the law we were not permitted to have a trial by jury. . . . You must also tell the people outside the prison walls that under this law, we were found guilty of going aboard a ship without permission. Explain to them that this is the same as trespassing, and for this we were given two years."

"Leaving for prison makes us think of Greece and Spain, because in those two countries those who fight for freedom and trade union rights are also locked up in prison. By this we don't mean that we are living in a fascist state, but if the shipowners can get away with doing a job on us, what is to stop the rest of the anti-trade union employers from doing likewise? And then watch out, because that is how it started in Germany."

All the organizations of the working people should join in protest against the imprisonment of the Seamen! Rally to their aid! Demand their immediate release!

Catspaw for Bosses

Marxists have always pointed out that the trade union bureaucrats act as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," protecting the profit system from the assaults of the masses. While their power rests on organized labor, their privileges in the final analysis depend upon the continued existence of capitalism. This is the economic root of their reformist program, their eagerness to serve the capitalist state on "labor boards" at home or propaganda missions abroad.

The more discredited capitalism becomes in the eyes of the masses, the more heavily it leans on its labor lackeys. In England, France, Holland, and other countries of Western Europe, it is the Social Democrats who administer the state on behalf of imperialism.

Now, out of the mouth of a leading spokesman of Wall Street, comes new proof of the role of the labor bureaucracy. At the recent CIO Convention, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas openly called upon the trade union officialdom to help Wall Street sell the Marshal plan to the European workers.

"A gap has been growing between the United States and Europe," Douglas said. And the American labor leaders are "peculiarly fitted" to bridge that gap.

He pointed out that new leaders have come to power in Europe, and "in almost every case their political strength is in the labor movement." These labor movements are "bitter" and "suspicious of all those who may be undisclosed agents of predatory interests"—of an "American imperialism extending its power into Europe through cartels, banks and other powerful instruments of industry and finance."

While Wall Street is so hated that it cannot speak in its own name, "American labor carries good credentials to western Europe. Doors tightly closed to others may open at its knock." It is "in this precise respect that American labor can render a unique service, whether it represents the government in particular missions, or as an observer of the European scene, acts as an educator of the rank and file of the people."

Thus he outlines the main task of the American labor leaders—to appeal to the class consciousness of the workers abroad and serve as the "labor" bait to lure the European masses into the Wall Street trap.

Philip Murray hailed the words of Douglas as recognition of the great force and influence of the labor movement in the world today. And that is so. But the real meaning of Murray's statement was approval and acceptance of the task handed out to the bureaucracy by the capitalist government.

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LABOR CHALLENGE
87 King Street West - Room 5
Toronto, Ontario

01-01-4

LABOR CHALLENGE

(66) January 1949

01-01-5

Stalinist M.P. Joins Ceylon Trotskyists

Lakshmane Rajapakse, a member of the Ceylon Parliament, has quit the Communist (Stalinist) Party and joined the Trotskyist movement. He was elected from the south part of Ceylon, the tea and rubber producing island off the tip of India.

In a public statement, Lakshmane Rajapakse declared that his views on most national and international questions are more in conformity with those of the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party, Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, than the Stalinists. Therefore, he has decided to accept the discipline of the Trotskyist fraction in the Ceylon parliament.

The Bolshevik Samasamaja Party was formerly known as the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India.

This brings the number of Trotskyist members of parliament to seven. Stalinist representation has declined from five to three. In addition to Lakshmane Rajapakse, another Stalinist member of parliament resigned, but has not an-

nounced affiliation to any other party.

The so-called "left turn" of the Stalinists has convinced members of the Communist Party in Ceylon that the Trotskyists were correct in opposing World War II. During the war, the Stalinists slandered the Trotskyist leaders as agents of Japanese imperialism. Now the Stalinists are compelled to eat their own words about the war. Considerable disillusionment with Stalinism has therefore become noticeable among the best elements in their ranks.

The ranks of Trotskyists, on the contrary, are firm and confident, and the movement is gaining in influence in Ceylon. In a recent by-election for the parliamentary seat for South Colombo, Bernard Soysa, the Trotskyist candidate, made an impressive showing. He came third in the field, polling 4,200 votes. He was topped by a well-known independent candidate who received 4,700 votes and the winning United National Party candidate who got 5,900 votes.

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Vol. V, No. 2 (67)

February, 1949

The Tradition is Ours

All classes that have outlived their usefulness, all bureaucratic cliques and gangs mask their present crimes by attempting to link themselves up with a past that is held sacred, that is revered in the minds of the masses.

One of the sources of strength of the Stalinist movement, despite all the betrayals and crimes which they have perpetrated, lies in the fact that they present themselves to the workers as the bearers of the most heroic traditions of the world working class, above all the October Revolution.

Editor Leslie Morris greets the 3rd annual convention of the LPP with an issue of the *Canadian Tribune* which is dedicated to an attempt to establish the LPP as the heir of all the radical traditions of Canadian labor. His weekly column is devoted to an attempt to build up the LPP and the *Canadian Tribune* as the direct heir of the Workers Party founded in 1922 and its press the *Workers Guard*. This was the theme of the convention which met under a huge portrait of Tim Buck and the words Feb. 1922-Feb. 1949—27 years of Canada's party of Communists.

Buck is presented as living proof of this claim, as "the head of the party he was instrumental in building 27 years ago." Morris reports that Buck "was elected to the WP's central executive committee along with other old timers who are still active in the fight."

If Buck is the proof of the link up between the Stalinist LPP and the first party of Canadian communism . . . where are all the rest of the executive committee? Their position should be of interest and should in some way substantiate Morris' claim.

Here is the list of the pioneers of Canadian revolutionary socialism, the first National Executive Committee; J. G. Smith, J. MacDonald, W. Moriarity, T. Buck, A. Brown, Max Armstrong, H. Gilbert, M. Buhay, M. Bruce and Secretary J. Kavanagh. We do not know what has become of Smith, Brown and Gilbert—whether they are living or what their present political beliefs are.

Kavanagh is an active and leading member of the Australian Trotskyist movement. Moriarity was expelled by the Buck clique as a Lovestonite and died in the early thirties. Buhay was also expelled as a Lovestonite but several years later managed to worm his way back into party favour. He died a few years ago. Malcolm Bruce broke from the Stalinist movement and would be characterized by Buck and company as a Trotskyist today. Max Armstrong also dropped out of the fold and we are sure they label him a Trotskyist. Jack MacDonald, who held the position of National Secretary from the beginning, was expelled in 1930 and became one of the founders of the Trotskyist movement. The editor of the *Worker*, which Morris claims to have been the forerunner of the *Tribune*, was Maurice Spector, chairman of the party and expelled in 1928—for Trotskyism. Buhay "a counter-revolutionary Lovestonite," took over from Spector until he was expelled. Bruce took over from Buhay until he broke from the Buck gang.

And so the party of Canadian communism was founded and its press edited by what Morris would call "a pack of counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Lovestonite scum." All but Buck are anti-Stalinist, anti-LPP, anti-Tribune. Instead of proving Morris' contention the record only confirms our opinion that Buck a nonentity in this galaxy of leaders, has only the skill of all opportunists . . . utter lack of principle and a supple spine. That is why he is leader of the LPP, a party whose line is called by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The *Workers Guard* and the *Worker* are the forerun-

ners of *Labor Challenge*. The Workers Party is the forerunner of the Revolutionary Workers Party. Examine our program and you will find this to be the truth.

Prepare for Tomorrow

Everyone has heard the story about the farmer whose roof leaked but who found it impractical to repair it when it was raining and unnecessary to repair it when it was not raining.

We all laugh at this joke which has become the very symbol of the "city slicker's" conception of what the term "farmer" means. The "city slickers" laugh, confident that they are not "farmers." But the organized labor movement in this country is conducting itself just like the proverbial farmer.

It's no secret that the depression is on the way—with its lay-offs, wage cuts, and speed up. And what is being done about it?

The first ugly signs of the depression are beginning to pile up on the financial pages—declining prices on the stock exchanges, an increasing number of business failures, fewer small bank deposits, etc. And these cold figures are being seered into the face of the working class. Employment offices are jammed from dawn to dusk . . . no jobs, nothing today, have you registered for unemployment insurance, sorry, your insurance has run out. Soup kitchens and their tired, dejected lines are appearing again in Vancouver, Windsor, Toronto and Montreal.

What's going to be done about this? Is labor, that has erected such inspiring structures as symbols of its power, that has organized mighty unions in the face of the most ruthless persecution, that has marshalled its mighty forces to wring concession after concession from the capitalist oligarchy—is this indomitable force which contains such powers of ingenuity and creation, such untapped, undreamed-of strength . . . is labor going to take this lying down.

What labor needs is a program. Armed with this program it must begin the fight now—not to-morrow when mass unemployment can become a fact and demoralization and fear begins to eat into its ranks with earnest—but now!

Commence the fight now for:

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the full time of unemployment.

For government subsidized housing projects and civic works with the millions that are being appropriated for war and destruction.

For a 6-hour day, 30-hour week. A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in take home pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment.

Vancouver Readers . . .

Fight Unemployment Now!

Hear the Program of the RWP

Thursday, March 3, 8.30 p.m.

SWEDISH COMMUNITY HALL

Hastings at Clark Drive



TROTSKYISM

Around the Globe

Workers — men and women — of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!

—Leon Trotsky.

02-01-2

ITALY

The Italian Trotskyist groups which were organized around the magazine *IVa Internazionale* after the Second World Congress of the Fourth International, held their first national conference on Jan. 2 in Rome. Twenty-five delegates from ten local and provincial groups attended.

The conference discussed and adopted an important political report which drew a balance sheet on all the currents in the Italian labor movement since 1944. A resolution on the political orientation and practical work of the Italian Trotskyists was adopted. This will soon be published.

The conference took up the reports of various committees on organization, education, trade union work, etc. A Central Committee was elected.

In connection with the conference an 8-day seminar was held on problems of the revolutionary movement.

GERMANY

The December 1948 issue of *Die Internationale*, magazine of the German Trotskyist movement, has been received by *Labor Challenge*.

The table of contents is as follows: Germany as the Object of World Politics; Notes on the World Situation; German Economy after the Monetary Reform; Is There a Von Paulus Army?; The Sixth Plenum of the International Executive Committee and Its Resolutions; France Faces a Decision; The Yugoslav Question and the Crisis of Stalinism; Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution (Trotsky); The General Strike of November 13; A Classic Marxist Work on the Jewish Question; Correspondence of *Die Internationale*.

A copy of the magazine can be obtained by sending 25 cents to *Labor Challenge Publishing Association*, 87 King Street West, Room 5, Toronto 1, Ontario.

BELGIUM

Comrade O. Henry, well-known in the Belgian labor movement under the pen name of Sem, died suddenly Jan. 14 at the age of 44. He was a member of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Belgian section of the Fourth International).

A communist from his youth and member of the Trotskyist movement since 1936, Comrade Sem was recognized even before the war as the most outstanding and qualified leader of the Belgian party. He was the author of the party's May 1, 1939, manifesto against the war, one of the basic documents of the Belgian Trotskyists.

When the Belgian Trotskyist party was forced underground at the outbreak of war and many of the older leaders of the party dropped into inactivity, Comrade Sem became the leading militant around whom the party leadership was reconstituted. Three times—in 1939-40, in 1944 after the Gestapo arrested almost all the new leaders of the party, and in 1947—he carried the heavy responsibility of guiding the organization by himself.

Sem was the organizer of the International Pre-conference of 1942 which reunited the Belgian and French Trotskyist leaders in the underground during the Nazi occupation. He participated in the European Conference of the Trotskyist movement in February, 1944, and in the April, 1946 World Pre-Conference of the Fourth International. During the war, he also organized the underground publication and distribution of the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference

of the Fourth International which was written by Leon Trotsky.

With the death of Comrade Sem, the Belgian section and the entire Fourth International lost one of its most seasoned cadres, one of its most capable leaders, and a comrade and friend of stainless honesty and integrity.

INDONESIA

The following is from a Jan. 12 Reuters dispatch from Batavia:

"Indonesian Republican reports asserted today that guerrilla forces in East Java had concentrated east of Madiun, 100 miles to the east of Jogjakarta, under Major General Sungkono, formerly Republican military governor of East Java, and the veteran Trotskyist, Tan Malakka.

"Tan Malakka was imprisoned for more than two years on suspicion of complicity in the kidnapping of former Premier Sutan Sjahrir and the attempt to overthrow President Sukarno in July, 1946. He was released last autumn."

As previously reported in *Labor Challenge*, Tan Malakka is well known as one of the founders of the revolutionary socialist movement in Indonesia. He is opposed to Stalinism. However, we do not know of any available documentary material on his exact political position at present.

CHINA

Chinese Trotskyists are actively participating in the struggle against the Kuomintang regime. In Shanghai on Dec. 20, members of the Communist League of China posted thousands of copies of a manifesto against the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship on walls of factories, schools, barracks and other buildings.

Two members were arrested for this underground work and three had a narrow escape from Chiang's police.

Chiang would have been overthrown long ago had it not been for the criminal deals made by the Stalinists, the manifesto pointed out. Another rotten deal with the Chinese capitalists can now be the "main obstacle and crisis in the further development of the present situation."

"What the Chinese 'Communist' party wants to do is not to overthrow the whole Kuomintang," continues the manifesto; "but to kick out 'Chiang Kai-shek bandits' from it. Not to destroy the Kuomintang's foundation, the bourgeoisie; but on the contrary to protect and consolidate that class. Not to form a Workers and Peasants Government, but to organize a coalition government together with the 'progressives' of the Kuomintang."

The New Banner Group, another Trotskyist grouping, has recently translated into Chinese the Manifesto of the Second World Congress and published it as a pamphlet. The English version was published by the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada. The official section of the Fourth International in China is the Revolutionary Communist Party.

LABOR CHALLENGE

(68) MARCH 1949

03-01-1

La Verite Published By Quebec Trotskyists

MONTREAL.—A new high point in the progress of the Revolutionary Workers Party was reached and at the same time a powerful blow struck at Canadian capitalism, early this month, in Quebec. This was the appearance of the first issue of

La Verité, (Truth) monthly organ of the party in the French language.

Several hundred copies of this attractively mimeographed new voice of revolutionary socialism have already reached French-Canadian workers. The contents of the paper live up to the traditions symbolized by the emblem of the Fourth International and the slogan "Workers of the World Unite!" carried on its cover.

The first article is an analysis of the war danger which poses the socialist solution to the danger of a new imperialist blood bath, the coming capitalist depression and the growth of reaction. The new anti-labor laws of the Duplessis government, the most important event in the labor movement here, are thoroughly dealt with in another item.

An open letter to the dissident French Canadian Stalinist group expelled from the Labor Progressive Party over a year ago (see December issue of "Labor Challenge") finds an important place in the March issue of La Verité. Reflecting the desire of editors to make La Verité a truly workers' paper is another article from a worker on developments in the Montreal Labor Council (CCL-CIO).

The appearance of La Verité, in the midst of the wave of reaction sweeping Canada and particularly Quebec, where our movement must work under the restrictions imposed upon labor such as the Padlock Law, is another demonstration of the power of the ideas of Trotskyism. It augurs well for the work of RWP among the French-Canadian masses.

A Report On Activities of the RWP

The last two forums held by the Toronto branch have been very well attended. A few weeks ago Ross Dowson, national secretary of the RWP spoke on the Significance of the Latest Stalinist Turn. Last week a crowded meeting heard an excellent lecture entitled Whither China. There was considerable discussion from the floor and many of the audience stayed for further discussion and coffee. The next two forums scheduled are:

March 20—The Coming Canadian Revolution.

April 3—Man and Socialism.

The February issue of Labor Challenge with its announcement of the contents of the December issue of Die Internationale brought in several orders. We have received word that another issue is out. We would urge all Labor Challenge readers who would like to read our German magazine to send in \$1 and we would be pleased to set up a regular subscribers list, sending out each issue as it comes in. We would be pleased to do the same for anyone wanting Quatrième Internationale, organ of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, published in French. The last issue we received contained the following articles;

C. Racovsky—Les "dangers professionnels" du pouvoir.

Favre-Bleibtreu—De Gaulle, candidate au pouvoir fort.

XYZ—Stalinisme et Communisme en Albanie.

A. Rosmer—Sur L'assassinat de de Trotsky.

H. Vallin—Aragon et la libre discussion des idées.

We have on hand a supply of Trotskyist papers in Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, etc., which we will send to anyone on request.

Flashiest job in spreading our own spokesman and party builder, Labor Challenge, was done by one of Toronto comrades last week. During a short stay in Sudbury and armed with a small bundle of papers that we forwarded him he went to work on the hard rock miners and some building trades workers. He returned with 6 new subs.

Subs have recently been received from several other points but Toronto leads with 10 one-year subs and 16 six-month subs. How about it, Labor Challenge boosters!

More and more readers are taking advantage of excellent stock of Marxist literature that can be obtained through Labor Challenge Publishing Association, 87 King Street West, Room 5. Sales have stepped up considerably in the past two or three months. A catalogue of the most important books on stock will be mailed out on request.

Vancouver Readers

A Series of Classes on:

The History & Development of the Working Class Movement

EVERY 2nd & 4th THURSDAY

Commencing March 24th

SWEDISH COMMUNITY HALL
(Hastings at Clark Drive)

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March, 1949



We firmly believe that one must not lie to the masses and that one must not deceive them with regards to the aims and methods of their own struggle. The social revolution is entirely based upon the growth of proletarian consciousness and on the faith of the proletariat in its own strength and in the Party which is leading it. One may play a double game with the enemies of the proletariat, but not with the proletariat itself.

—Leon Trotsky.

AT LAST THE TRUTH

Ever since the end of the last world slaughter Big Business, its kept press, and parliamentary stooges, have been trying to make us look the other way while they cook up a new one by shrieking of the "menace of soviet expansionism." This campaign is building up to a new crescendo with the Atlantic "Defense" Pact. The pact, we are piously told, is only designed to "contain" the ferocious "red aggressor."

But now, almost on the eve of the Atlantic Pact's public debut, the cat is out of the bag. John Foster Dulles, one of Wall Street's top strategists, stepped out of character for a moment last week to tell a National Conference on Churches and World Order the truth about the cold war.

"So far as it is humanly possible to judge," he said, "the Soviet government, under conditions now prevailing, does not contemplate the use of war as an instrument of its national policy. I do not know any responsible high official, military or civilian, in this government, or any government, who believes that the Soviet state now plans conquest by open military aggression."

Dulles, a member of the United States' delegation to the UN Assembly, should know what the capitalist governments think about the alleged war plans of the Soviet government. But if it is not the USSR—who is the aggressor in the cold war? Who is plotting another blood bath for humanity? The answer to this question appears as bold as brass in the pages of the *Monetary Times*, an authoritative organ of Canadian finance capitalism. In an editorial in its November 1948 issue the *Times* says:

"Inasmuch as the Russians appear to be achieving great success with the peace and are unlikely to gain more by war. The conflict will have to be of our making, sparked eventually by some 'event' either in Berlin or elsewhere in Europe where Russia and the rest may come into conflict.

"It has come to be generally accepted on this continent that war is inevitable and it is certainly hard to conjure up any arguments to prove otherwise. The question therefore is 'when.'"

"It would appear that the months and years ahead will be a continuous repetition of the state of things today. On every hand, we see preparations for war. Strategic materials, steel, rubber, glycerine, other chemicals are in shorter supply every day and it can be presumed that they are being stockpiled in the United States, either in preparation for war or to impress the potential enemy that might is right."

Incredible, but there it is straight from the mouths of Big Business. The Soviet government doesn't want a new war but Canadian and American capitalism do, and are frantically preparing to thrust it upon the war-weary millions of the world. "The conflict will have to be of our own making..." says Big Business. What more need be said!

03-01-2

LONG LIVE LA VERITE!

The first issue of *La Verite*, published by the Quebec Revolutionary Workers Party, marks a gigantic step forward for the forces of Canadian revolutionary Marxism.

With the publication of *La Verite*, Trotskyism will speak in the two tongues of the Canadian working class—English and now French.

This marks the achievement of a long projected plan of the RWP. The Quebec working class has a decisive roll to play in the coming Canadian socialist revolution. Almost one third of the population of Canada is in the province of Quebec. The last war gave a great impetus to the industrial development of that province. Thousands of young men and women were torn out of the rural areas and thrust into the cities and factories. Mighty industrial concentrations such as Arvida sprang up overnight.

Under the pressure and shock of this new environment, a tremendous radicalization of the Quebec masses has taken place. While union membership across Canada made the spectacular increase of 16.4 per cent in the year 1945-46, in Quebec it skyrocketed to an increase of 21.8 per cent, to almost equal the number of organized workers in industrial Ontario.

The development of the trade union movement in Quebec has been a stormy one, confronted with the brutal and combined opposition of the provincial government, the powerful Catholic Church and Big Business. Militant battles such as those waged by the French Canadian workers at Asbestos and Valleyfield against the mighty trusts and corporations that have a stranglehold on Quebec economy, have few parallels in the history of Canadian labor.

As yet the political development of the French Canadian workers, hamstrung by the Catholic Church and diverted by such demagogic movements as the Bloc Populaire and the Union des Electeurs, has lagged behind that of the rest of the Canadian working class.

But just as conditions thrust the French Canadian workers into the unions and violent strike struggles, conditions are ripening for explosive political developments. One of the most powerful factors favouring this development is the traditional opposition of the French masses to imperialist war.

In *La Verite* the French Canadian workers will find the answer to the crucial questions that confront them—that answer is the program of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

CCF Youth Group and Party Rank and File Reject Coldwell-Lewis Support of North Atlantic War Pact

By ROSS DOWSON

Without even the knowledge of the specific terms of the drafted bill the CCF National Council and the CCF M.P.'s have already endorsed the secretly prepared North Atlantic Pact.

Over a month in advance of the parliamentary debate on the draft, the top brass of the CCF committed the CCF to absolute support of the Pact without consultation with the membership or rank and file representative bodies. They have circulated in the CCF papers, press releases that express "satisfaction" that the Minister (Lester B. Pearson, secretary of state for external affairs) had outlined a policy so closely resembling that of the democratic socialists. Not a single CCF M.P. has lifted his voice in opposition to this latest Wall Street military coup which planks U.S. borders under the very nose of the Soviet border guard and which commits the war weary masses of this country in advance to the horrors of World War III.

Not only do they accept its conspiratorial and secret preparation, accept sight unseen its obvious imperialist authorship and aims, but they have become its chief propagandists, attempting to whip any and all dissidents into line.

But whereas Coldwell and company met only a token opposition from party ranks when they lined up behind the Marshall Plan, which they managed to disguise as a relief program, their hopping onto the bandwagon for World War III has been too brazen. There are numerous signs that their bureaucratic commitment of the CCF to the foreign policy of the Liberal and Tory capitalist parties has provoked an extensive opposition in the party ranks.

The B.C. CCF NEWS reports that the majority of the audience that attended a three-man panel discussion on the pact held at the Vancouver Boag House on Jan. 23rd, heatedly opposed its support by the CCF. A letter to the editor of the CCF NEWS makes the unchallenged statement that "on Nov. 13, 1948 the provincial council of the B.C. section of the CCF refused to endorse the NA alliance by the vote of 38 to 2." The past few months have seen a flurry of letters to the editor of that paper such as the one from Neil Kelly of Cobble Hill who, after exposing the

thing but war. . . "The vote was heavily against the resolution."

It is indisputable that these developments that have found their way into the CCF press, reflect a deep and widespread opposition to the CCF leadership's shameless support of the preparations for World War III, to their absolute identity with the capitalist parties on all questions of foreign policy, to their becoming as the Peoples Weekly (Alta CCF press) "is proud to say" in an editorial of Feb. 5, not an opposition but merely a prod to the old line parties.

WEASEL WORDS

In an attempt to stem the rising opposition to their sell-out of the

Canadian workers, Coldwell and Lewis rush into print with a slick weasel-worded article (National Office Commentary, Peoples Weekly Feb. 19) to explain that the Atlantic Pact is not a war pact, if it is it should promise us something else besides, and anyway the "facts" compel "us" to support it, regardless of what it is.

The essence of this scurrilous statement is that "facts" require a recognition that it is not possible to take a position on this crucial question that really represents the true interests of the masses. It's Wall Street or Stalin, whines Coldwell. And after confronting us with these two mon-

→ To page 2



M. J. COLDWELL

Atlantic Pact as a monstrous stride towards war, declares: "Our local CCF club is almost solidly opposed to Canada being dragged into this business of war and I would like to hear from other of the rank and file in other clubs to find out how much backing there is for the top brass in our movement to support the NAP in its present form."

On February 13 the Provincial Council of the Ontario CCF youth (CCYM) "after 30 odd minutes of heated discussion" sent a resolution calling for support of the Atlantic Pact "down to defeat." The Ontario CCF NEWS reports that "the assailants of the motion maintained that section B (any military consideration be subordinated to economic cooperation and planning for a rising standard of living to provide the only suitable challenge to the menace of communism)—was ridiculous, no security pact having effected any-

strosities, completely ignoring the working class as a power, the only power for progress, Coldwell chooses Wall Street.

Coldwell's hatred of Stalinism flows not at all from a feeling of solidarity with the European masses, not at all from a hatred of its misleadership of the worker's struggles, its bureaucratization of the labor movement, its terror, but from tearful sympathy and solidarity with European capitalism and horror at the "drive to push the Western powers out of Berlin."

And now Coldwell tosses in one of his high cards. Opposed to the Atlantic Pact?—Why that means that you are opposed to the "socialists" of Belgium, Britain and France "for it would be correct to say that the idea of the Pact was initiated and promoted primarily" by them.

Yes! Mr. Coldwell, we confess that we believe that every class conscious worker in Canada should be opposed to the Social Democratic leaders in Europe. They are Wall Street socialists. Their brand and your brand of anti-Stalinism far from preventing or stemming the rise of Stalinism, has only given it a new lease on life. Their anti-Stalinism is not anti but pro-capitalist. They are in coalition with the decrepit capitalist class of Europe which continues to exist thanks only to transfusions of

American dollars and arms. They have opposed every militant struggle of the workers, they have split the trade unions down the middle. The hands of their ministers, like Jules Moch of France, are stained with the blood of murdered strikers.

For us the fight against Stalinism is part of the general anti-capitalist struggle, not separate from it nor in contradiction to it. Your anti-Stalinism only leads to the increasing influence of Stalinism and the subsequent demoralization of the workers.

"So far," says Lewis, "the UN has failed. . . . Can we then reject this experience that these self-confessed bankrupts led the masses into? Oh no, not at all. According to Lewis we must now deal direct with the power that was always the real power behind the scene; with the defender of lynch law, the butcher of the Greek partisans, the political blackmailer of the Italian masses, the subsidizer of bloody Chiang. . . . Yankee Imperialism. . .

The statement lyngly builds up Wall Street as a pillar of progress, democracy and hope in Europe. In the language of the bosses, it labels the heroic struggles of the French and Italian working class of last year . . . "sabotage." Then in a wide sweep from the right it attempts to meet left critics with a sob; "It is, of course, regrettable

that the most powerful country in the western world is a capitalist one and that its policies are frequently reactionary."

Regrettable! But it will do for Coldwell and Lewis. Then with a flick of the wrist these political tricksters transform a "regrettable" fact that Wall Street is "frequently reactionary" into a virtue; a reason which according to them compels us all the more to support the pact so that "smaller nations can have an influence on American policy which they could not have if there were no such alliance."

JOIN THE SCABS

You see, according to these shysters the workers must support the pact for if the small (capitalist) nations remain outside the pact American imperialism will be able to go on its reactionary way, unimpeded—inside the pact the small (capitalist) nations will be able to carry on a fifth column job and tame the savage imperialist beast.

Don't fight the tiger to save your life, jump into its jaws in the hope that you will give it a twinge of indigestion. Don't beat back the scabs, join their ranks so that you can influence their policy.

Are you so foolish as to believe as the CCYM Council believes; that military pacts are only a preparation for war and are a step towards war? If so you won't find an

answer from Coldwell and Lewis. To destroy any such contention as this, the highly moral National Office manufactures a straw man who argues "that military alliances . . . always lead to war."

Of course pacts do not cause war but contrary to the slick argumentation of Lewis and Coldwell the last war would not have been prevented by an alliance of the western powers and the Soviet Union nor if Britain and France had honoured "their commitments to Czechoslovakia." Those with the responsibility of office knew that to "honour their commitments" would have meant war at a time when neither they nor the masses who were to fight their war were ready for war.

War is not caused nor prevented by pacts and alliances, at most it is only postponed or given impetus by them. The cause of war as of all other social evils, unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression — is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation.

But St. Laurent's Atlantic Pact, notwithstanding its endorsement by the traitorous CCF leadership, is a big stride towards World War III and for this reason will meet with all the opposition that all serious workers can muster.

Vancouver RWP Hits Lay-offs Advances Program

VANCOUVER.—Over half the unemployment insurance benefits paid out in the last three months have been in this city. There are almost 40,000 unemployed in this province. It is estimated that 400 to 500 are exhausting their benefits each month. No jobs; no income whatsoever. They are being told by officials to "Go to the Salvation Army."

A group of workers who don't want to exist on the miserly droppings of charity, but want to seriously fight this rising threat, attended a meeting last week held under the auspices of the Vancouver branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party.

The meeting was extremely lively and informative. Speaker Reg. Bullock, well known trade union activist, after outlining the situation confronting Vancouver labor, called upon the audience to rally around a practical program based on the defense of the interests of the workers, employed and unemployed.

To arrive at a correct program it is necessary to scientifically analyse the cause of unemployment. The theories of the Babson's and all the political quacks and apologists of Big Business are not only false but can only lead to the destruction of the living standards of the workers and their degeneration. We have to go to Marx and Engels to understand the why of unemployment and economic crisis, and to learn how to fight. This fight must be anti-capitalist and for socialism.

"It is small wonder that the spokesman of monopoly capitalism greet the lay-offs and their political stooges' attempt to calm a disturbed populace deprived of the right to work. For them it is a return to normalcy . . . the glutted a labor market of 1929-39. . . . They want a reserve army of unemployed."

CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Engels showed how under capitalism the introduction and improvement of machines in production results in the displacement of the workers. The exploitation of labor by capital destroys the home market. The extension of the world market can not keep pace with the extension of production.—the result is periodic crisis.

Comrade Bullock pointed out that the working class upon whom the high cost of capitalist crisis is dumped, is one and indivisible. The unemployed continue to be exploited by capitalism but the exploitation takes a different form. They are the unpaid "reserve industrial army," ready to go to work when required, meantime they are the spur used by the rul-

ing class to sweat more out of those employed.

He called upon the unions to organize the unemployed . . . it is their duty, they have the apparatus, it is in their interests. The mighty voice of the trade unions must force the government to immediately raise unemployed benefits to trade union rates during the entire period of unemployment. They must demand that the government launch its long promised subsidized public works program—low rent housing projects, etc.

The same mighty united strength must be used to prevent any further lay-offs in industry by demanding now the introduction of the 6-hour day without reduction of present take home pay.



**"A little recession would be a good thing —
it would take a little fat of those guys down on the assembly line."**

(69) APRIL 1949

Doors Slam on B.C. and Ontario Labor Lobbies

By PAUL KANE

The British Columbia Coalition government and the Tory Ontario government have slammed the door on labor delegations appealing for revision of slave labor codes in force in both provinces.

Labor Minister Daley rebuffed the 100 strong delegation representing 200,000 CIO-CCL workers when they demanded 4 major changes in the Ontario code which is a holus-bolus adoption of the Federal Government's anti-labor Bill 195. He declared there would be no changes "this year." The AFL delegation with its proposed amendments to the code received the same silent treatment. Secretary Ford Brand made a scathing report to the Toronto council in which he charged that the Queen's Park government has "got to the point where they are a little power crazy."

B.C.'s combined Attorney General and Minister of Labor Wismer shoved aside the B.C. Federation of Labor delegation and its 35 amendments, after two days of persistent button-holing of cabinet ministers and M.P.P.'s, with the caustic statement that: "The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (containing the much hated Bills 39 and 87) will remain unchanged. The administration of Workmen's Compensation will be investigated "in reasonable time."

At the same time that Big Business representatives kept the clamps on laws that are designed to strait-jacket Ontario and B.C. labor, the Quebec Duplessis government, flushed with the victory

of having successfully slipped over Bill 60 against municipal workers and teachers, threatened to move further in its attempts to cut the union movement to ribbons. Labor Minister Barrette threatened government supervision and control over union funds if the Quebec unions continued to adopt the so-called Rand Formula which compels all employees of a shop to pay dues to the bargaining agent whether members or not.

And what do the trade union leaders propose to do now that their pleas have proved ineffectual? What are the CCL-CIO, AFL, Ontario and B.C., bureaucrats going to do now that Daley and Wismer have blandly ignored them?

When organized labor was informed that the federal government's anti-labor bill was to be adopted by the Ontario government the top leaders hit hard. Canadian UAW Regional Director George Burt warned, "Bill 195 is almost as vicious a 'union buster' as the Taft-Hartley Law." "We can't live under it," said Burt. "It's impossible to amend the law into anything worthwhile, so there's no point in being rabbit-tracked into amendments. We might as well go all-out for repeal because the other path doesn't lead anywhere."

But having been turned down by the government the top bureaucrats now advance two proposals:

1) Wait until the next election and labor, through the CCF, will wipe out the Liberals and Tories along with their slave bill.

2) Combat the interpretation of the anti-labor laws on the Labor

Board level—wangle for the best possible precedents.

Proposal (2), upon which the bureaucrats are now banking labor's all, is treacherous and full of dangers for the unions. In essence it means acceptance of the slave laws and staking everything on legalistic maneuvers before the boss-loving legal tricksters that stack the Labor Boards.

Proposal (1) while correctly drawing one of the most important conclusions from labor's experience with appeals to boss politicians, in its advocacy of labor political action, is nonetheless equally dangerous. It too means let us try to live under this Damocles sword. It means that until the next election, three or four years hence, labor must accept "its punishment" and pray that when another election comes around it will have been left enough strength by the Duplessis' and Daley's to conduct an election campaign.

It is necessary to launch a mass co-ordinated campaign now, to stop the Dominion-wide anti-labor drive in its tracks. Stop it now before the bosses' whittling here and chopping away there have so weakened the unions that they will be unable to do battle to defend themselves.

It is necessary to launch a call for a Congress of Labor composed of representatives of all the unions to map out and plan coordinated mass action against the anti-labor plot.

A Congress of Labor representative of the million organized workers in this country can lay out the necessary plans. It will consider all the proposals; to withdraw labor's representatives from government Labor Boards, to organize monster labor lobbies, mass demonstrations and parades, work stoppages, etc., which alone can smash these laws. It can carry out the kind of action that is needed.

CSU in Militant Battle

The Canadian Seamen's strike in the face of unprecedented police terror, SIU thuggery, injunctions, imprisonments and fines, is meeting with inspiring support here and in many ports where CSU manned boats are tied up.

SIU scabs, armed to the teeth and backed up by baton swinging police in Halifax and Vancouver, have broken through CSU picket lines at several points to man the struck ships. At Liverpool,

Brisbane and other Commonwealth ports local port authorities and police are arresting, jailing or fining seamen who have answered the call of their union to strike as soon as they reach port.

At Rouen, France, Canadian seamen have won the support of the dockers who refuse to finish unloading the struck ships. At several West Indies ports dockers and stevedores are solidly behind the striking seamen.

How to Fight the Pact

04-01-2a

To the authors and supporters of the resolutions against the Atlantic Pact that will be presented to the coming B.C. CCF Convention;

The revolt that you are leading in the CCF against the Coldwell-Lewis leadership is the most widespread that has developed in many years. Thousands of workers across the country both inside and outside the CCF are looking to you. You express their doubts and fears that the Atlantic Pact is not a "defence" pact but an alliance for war.

While it is obvious that the forces that have rallied to your side to oppose the Atlantic Pact are numerous and anxious to do battle with the Coldwell leadership we must warn you that your political armament is extremely meagre. Indeed from your resolutions you are so ill prepared that if you do not grasp new equipment it is hard to see how the Coldwell-Lewis machine, cynical and adroit in maneuvers and combinations, can possibly fail to route your forces completely and be free to continue on its traitorous course.

The central point in all your resolutions opposing the Pact is the argument that it by-passes and is in contradiction with the charter of the United Nations. And since the UN is, in Coldwell's own words of a few months ago, "the sole hope for peace" the Atlantic Pact is therefore a treacherous development.

It so happens that there is no more truth in Coldwell's statement that the UN is an instrument for peace than there is in your contention that the AP is in contradiction to the aims and purposes of the UN.

Your contention that the AP is "working outside of the UNO" has no basis in fact. The Pact's watchdog, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, has said over and over, citing chapter and verse, that the Pact is completely in conformity with the UN charter.

A great majority of the resolutions either say openly or contain implications that the UN is the only hope for peace. This is the major error in all the resolutions.

Recall that three years ago at the B.C. convention you were warned by several delegates that the UN was not an instrument for peace, but for war. How is it possible in the ensuing three years to hold to that same old hope — that illusion? Since Oct. 1945 the UN has had many tests.

Its decisions in Palestine only produced civil war. Its discussions on the Balkans, Korea, the Italian colonies, ignore the rights of the masses there. Its discussions on disarmament are a sham. Remember Indonesia in 1945 when

Britain under the Attlee government, the Netherlands, the U.S., and yes, Canada by supplying arms to the Dutch, all powers in the UN, tried, to smash the new born republic? And what about the conflict of only a few months ago? Didn't the UN only provide a cover for the slaughter of the Indonesian masses by the Dutch imperialists with hypocritical lies and "appeals" to the murderers?

In April, 1946 at its World Congress, the Fourth International, a world-wide revolutionary socialist party to which the RWP is affiliated, warned "that the UN is merely a new edition of that imperialist League of Nations which Lenin dubbed the 'thieves kitchen'". . . . it is "a new arena of combat among the warring powers, completely belying its name." How true this has proved.

The Point Grey Association even suggests several UN reforms. How pitiful they are! Point 6 calls upon the UN to secure freedom for the colonial and backward peoples, to raise their living standards. But the very forces that dominate the UN are themselves the powers that exploit the colonial masses and bloodily suppress their freedom struggles.

Yes! the UN as an international instrument for peace is a fraud, beyond hope, beyond any possible reform. And the Atlantic Pact, far from being a rejection of or in contradiction to the UN, is its ripe fruit.

The trouble is that none of your resolutions reveal that you correctly understand the true causes of war in this period of capitalist decline and decay. Coldwell and Lewis point out the sharp and bitter conflicts that rage between the two world powers, the USSR and the US. Without seriously troubling to explain the source of these conflicts, they identify themselves with American capitalism and reject its erstwhile ally.

They drop the question at the very point that one must begin. It is indisputable that the basic antagonism in the world today is between the USSR and the US. But this antagonism does not flow from different temperaments of politicians, duplicity, lack of trust, etc., . . . it flows from the clash of two fundamentally different social structures—American capitalism and the nationalized and planned economy that is the product of the socialist revolution of 1917.

American capitalism, as German capitalism under Hitler, needs markets, needs sources of raw material and profitable fields for export of surplus capital. This pressure on German economy drove it to war with the US and the USSR.

Today the US is being driven along the path that Germany took.

"As long as the USSR exists with its present social structure, despite the ever more monstrous degeneration it has undergone under the rule of Stalinist bureaucracy, it remains an obstacle on the path of the imperialist greed for markets. The second world war did not solve this contradiction but only sharpened it."

... "the very fact that the USSR survived the war, that the bureaucracy has not been able to destroy its social foundation from within, and has even been forced to give an impetus towards the social transformations in varying degrees of the economies of the

this program and strike a powerful blow against war.

This is the program that will foil the Atlantic Pact plot for World War III.

Demand that the CCF M.P.'s refuse to vote for any war credits. Demand that the millions planned for instruments of destruction be spent on housing projects, on work projects that will wipe out unemployment.

Fight against the "sacrifices" that St. Laurent promises will be part of the "obligations" of the Pact. Against taxation of the poor. Place the taxes on the shoulders of the rich.

Demand that the war-making powers be taken away from Parliament—that the people vote on the question of war and peace.

Support the struggles of the colonial masses for independence from our common oppressors — imperialism. —Jean Laplante.

(See p.2)

10 CCF M. P.'s ABSENT FROM HOUSE

The following CCF M.P.'s failed to vote against the Atlantic Pact but absented themselves or were absent when the vote was taken in the house on March 28, 1949:

H. G. Archibald (Skeena), William Irvine (Cariboo), J. H. Matthews (Kootenay East), D. J. McCuaig (Maple Creek), E. G. McCullough (Assiniboia), E. B. McKay (Weyburn), Gladys Strum (Qu'Appelle), W. R. Thatcher (Moose Jaw), P. E. Wright (Melfort) Rodney Young (Vancouver Centre).

countries occupied by the Red Army under its command, has increased the acuteness of the problem of imperialism. That is why the imperialists have posed the settling of accounts with the USSR as their most pressing task."

Yes! capitalism is the cause of war. To fight war—to fight the Atlantic Pact it is necessary to fight against capitalism—to fight for socialism, that will do away with the system of private property and establish a planned order of production for use. The struggle against war therefore does not become a special task separate and apart from our daily struggles.

Perhaps you have hung onto your illusions about the UN because you saw no other force for peace, no other force that could fight war. But there is a force, the most powerful, the only anti-war force in the world . . . that is the international solidarity of the working people of all lands. They do not want war, they are looking for a way out.

This great power can be mobilized around a program of action. In your struggle with the Coldwell bureaucracy, which has sold itself to U.S.-Canadian capitalism and its war aims, you must advance

CCF RANK & FILE RESOLUTIONS AGAINST ATLANTIC WAR PACT

Last issue of LABOR CHALLENGE reported widespread revolt in CCF ranks over the Coldwell-Lewis leadership's endorsement of the Atlantic "War" Pact.

The provincial council of the Ontario CCF youth (CCYM) sent a resolution calling for support of the Atlantic Pact "down to defeat." We reported extensive opposition in many clubs in the B.C.-Yukon Section and revealed that "the provincial council of the B.C. section had refused to endorse the N.A. alliance by the vote of 38 to 2."

On March 28 the St. Laurent government, assured in advance by Coldwell of his enthusiastic support, presented the text of the pact to the house. Prior to the vote it had been rumoured that there was considerable "opposition" within the parliamentary caucus to support of the pact. Some M.P.'s supposedly having indicated that they might even vote against it.

But following a softening-up job by Coldwell and his lieutenants the opposition knuckled under. No CCF M.P.'s voted against this monstrous step towards World War III. Ten absented themselves or were absent during the vote.

With this issue LABOR CHALLENGE is throwing open its columns to reproduce several of the resolutions that B.C. clubs have presented for adoption to the coming B.C.-Yukon Convention. We reproduce only a few of the resolutions on the Pact. All resolutions presented on this life and death question are opposed to the position of the Coldwell-Lewis leadership.

While the Revolutionary Workers Party does not agree with the analysis and the political program advanced by the following resolutions, we consider the revolt against the Coldwell leadership's attempt to tie the Canadian workers to the Imperialist war chariot to be of first rate importance, and the ideas expressed in the resolutions to be of the utmost interest to all workers.

It is obvious that the opposition will find the columns of the official CCF press closed to the expression of its ideas. The editors of LABOR CHALLENGE invite them to utilize their columns to arm the workers for the fight against the atomic destruction of mankind.

CCF Resolutions

Resolution 2

Whereas the N.C. of the CCF which is representative of the movement across Canada made a decision to support the North Atlantic Security Pact; and whereas treaties for military collective security are of no value unless they rest on mutual agreement to build up the positive social conditions of peace which can only be realized by socialist measures under international planning, spearheaded by democratic socialists; and whereas many European socialists are too worried by immediate problems of economic survival and military insecurity to take such a lead:

Resolved that the CCF in Canada should shoulder its responsibilities in this matter in a more

vigorous manner than it has hitherto done and that our CCF M.P.'s and other public representatives should draw a sharp distinction between CCF foreign policy and the policies of other political parties by concentrating on the battle for the following positive measures:

1) International and domestic planning for more production of food and other necessities of life for those who are in want and a policy which will ensure that such production shall under no circumstances be curtailed by the demands for military preparedness.

2) Transformation of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N. from an advisory body into a directive agency which shall have the authority to administer food production and distribution, conservation measures, the dis-

tribution of farm machinery, fertilizers and scientific agricultural methods throughout the world and the elimination of profiteering and speculation in food by public control.

3) Renewal and support of the proposal of the World Co-operative Alliance to set up a world oil authority and the initiation of proposals to control the production and distribution of other natural resources which are vital to all nations.

4) Socialization of the key industries of Western Germany under ownership of the German people but under international control.

5) A realignment of Canadian trade and production to bring this country into the international pattern of Britain and other countries throughout the world which can be considered part of the Third Force of Democratic Socialism. Such a policy will free this country from the American dollar nexus which is gradually strangling Canadian independence in international affairs.

6) A policy in the UN to secure the freedom of colonial and backward peoples, backed by all the authority which UN possesses and to aid them in every way to raise standards of living and establish modern industrial economies.

7) A demand for immediate peace conferences for Japan and Germany.

Point Grey Ass'n.

Whereas the CCF N.C. is on record as supporting the principal of the N.A. Pact and whereas this action commits the CCF to a course of action which is not in the best interests of the Canadian public: Be it resolved that this convention go on record as opposed to any such action as being unsocialist in its essence and from which no assurance of peace is forthcoming.

Pioneer Club.

Resolution 6

Resolved that we disapprove of any military alliance such as the "Atlantic Security Pact" working outside the UNO.

Cobble Hill Club.

04-01-26

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"A Thing of Honor"

For many years now the Catholic hierarchy in this country has taken the lead in creating an atmosphere of lynch-hysteria against "communism." Now, everyone, including those misguided Catholic workers who have been lured into the "anti-communism" campaign, can better understand against whom and what this campaign is ultimately aimed. The real target is organized labor itself, its right to strike and picket, its basic democratic rights.

This was verified by no less a person than Cardinal Spellman, supreme authority of the Catholic hierarchy on this continent, by his conduct in the eight-week strike of CIO cemetery workers for the 40-hour week at two Catholic burial grounds in New York. Under the cloak of religion, Spellman demonstratively mobilized priests and seminary students as scabs against these strikers.

The Cardinal went all-out in lending the odor of religious sanctity to the foulest crime against the working people—strikebreaking. For when he boasts that he is "proud" to be called a strikebreaker and deems it a "thing of honour" to scab-herd against the CIO cemetery strikers he is actually laying down a line of "morality" and conduct for all Catholic communicants. He is demonstrating in action the policies and program of the entire Catholic hierarchy. He is revealing the real aim of the "labor" program which this hierarchy is trying to foist on the unions through its "labor" schools, its army of professional "labor" priests and its Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

The striking workers—almost all devout Catholics—themselves—denounced the Cardinal as a strikebreaker in a resolution condemning "the union busting tactics of any employer, including the Catholic Church when it acts as an employer."

The Catholic hierarchy feels free to fling "communist" as a deadly epithet at any individual or idea that does not conform to its special interests, ideas and dogma. Even Catholic workers, engaged in elementary union defense of their rights are smeared with this label. And it does them no good to deny the charge—as the cemetery workers did by disaffiliating from their international union at the behest of the Cardinal. He only sneered at them—"They're getting repentant kind of late"—and asserted that even if they are not "communists" then "their tactics certainly are communistic."

In breaking the strike the Roman Catholic hierarchy—trafficker in a thousand profitable enterprises from commercial real estate to sales of grave lots—has vast material interests at stake. It employs tens of thousands of lay workers, mainly non-union, at notoriously low wages and long hours. A victory for the cemetery workers would have set an example for others.

By his strikebreaking, Cardinal Spellman has demonstrated just what program and service the Catholic hierarchy is now offering the capitalist class. Fearful of its own vast properties and investments it is showing what it can do for capitalism in return for the latter's protection. By singling out a group of Catholic workers as the first victims of his open strikebreaking, Spellman has simply issued a voucher to the plutocracy that he will draw the line at nothing in aiding their assault on labor.

But We Remember . . .

Misleaders of the workers always depend upon, always count upon the great tolerance and the short memories of the workers. Sooner or later, the truth catches up on them—it's catching up with the Tory and Liberal stooges in the trade union movement, it caught up with the Stalinist leadership of the West Coast lumber workers.

But the short memory of the workers remains a factor which all misleaders count heavily upon to retain their influence, their posts, and prestige.

In an editorial headed "A CCF Victory," in the March 9, B.C. CCF News, full credit is taken by the CCF for the "victory" of the struggle of the Japanese Canadians for the right to return to the West Coast.

Commenting on the "fundamental principle of the socialist movement . . . equality of all human beings" the editorial declares that "throughout the years CCF members have maintained their stand *unflinchingly* in the face of vicious attacks and misrepresentation."

This would be a proud boast if it were true, but what are the facts? During the war the Dominion government, with the all-out aid of the lynch-calling Stalinist LPP, forcibly routed the Japanese community out of B.C. But did the CCF "unflinchingly" defend these people from this brutal attack?

No! On the contrary! On February 24, 1942 Harold Winch, leader of the B.C. CCF put his signature to a telegram which demanded that the "military authorities be immediately authorized to remove enemy aliens" from the West Coast. The telegram demanded that "the evacuation of all those of Japanese origin from the Pacific coast area be proceeded with immediately and plans to this effect announced."

On April 22, 1947, Ross Thatcher, CCF MP from Saskatchewan, declared in the House of Commons that "there was justification for that order-in-council" which gouged the Japanese Canadians from their homes. On the same day, B.C. CCF MP Herridge claimed that "everyone knows that in British Columbia all parties supported the removal of the Japanese from the coast at that time."

So we see that the CCF record on this "fundamental principle of the socialist movement" has been far from "unflinching." Not only did the CCF leaders support the persecution at the height of the war hysteria but they were active in demanding that the Federal government proceed immediately with "the evacuation of all those of Japanese origin."

While the CCF has called for the rescinding of this order-in-council since the end of the war, here is their record when the heat was on, when they had to stand up and be counted.

04-01-3

TROTSKYISM

Around the Globe

Workers — men and women — of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!

—Leon Trotsky.

04-01-4



CEYLON

According to a dispatch from the Times of Ceylon, the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, dissident Ceylonese Trotskyists, have "decided to recruit volunteers for the purpose of raising a Sama Samaja Brigade to participate in active combat against the Dutch. M. S. Abu Bakr, the Colombo Municipal Councillor, who is an ex-serviceman, has been commissioned to be in charge of the recruiting campaign."

"The party has also decided to request those active in the Trade Union field to summon a conference of Trade Union organizations in the Indian Ocean region (to be held in Colombo) for the purpose of chalking out a line of action for all workers particularly sailors, dockers, and airfield personnel."

FRANCE

A group of revolutionary socialist youth who broke from the Social Democratic SFIO and regrouped themselves around the Socialist and Revolutionary action, broke from the latter organization a few months ago to declare their adherence to the French section of the Fourth International, Parti Communiste Internationaliste.

In their statement of adherence to the PCI they expose the leadership of the Socialist and Revolutionary Action, which after having declared its programmatic agreement with the PCI pronounced in favor of an unprincipled compromise with the pro-Stalinist PSU and then for the liquidation of the movement into the centrist catch-all RDR, leading to confusion and disarming the militants and rendering them impotent to intervene in the struggle of the working class.

The declaration is signed by a score of workers some of whom were members of the National Committee of the socialist youth, members of the executive committee of the Socialist Party, secretaries of leading bodies, etc. These leading militants have called upon other socialists to join the French Trotskyists.

tive to the execution of decisions."

2) Freedom, immediate and unconditional for Indonesia. . . .

"One cannot say that the needs and desires of the people are being satisfied today. The Republic must base itself on the needs and the desires of the people. The Indonesia Republic, despite its proved weakness and deficiencies, must proceed to the introduction of planned economy, which must be run with all honesty, sacrifice and enthusiasm that the people can command. Basing itself on such a plan the Indonesian Republic will ward off all assaults made on it."

3) Prohibition of the inroads of all forms of foreign capital. . . .

"We shall gladly exchange our product for machinery, but we should keep our production and distribution in our own hands."

4) . . . "If the production and distribution is left in the hands of the capitalists of Indonesia, who do not take into account the real needs of the people, the country would once again be the victim of foreign exploitation. More than pre-war Latin America and China, we shall once again become the object of imperialist exploitation if we fail to do away with our own capitalists."

INDONESIA

First authentic word of Tan Malakka's political position to reach the outside world has appeared in the journal *Pari* and reproduced in *Merdeka*, the official organ of the Indonesian Republic in its bi-annual issue of Feb. 17, 1946, under the title *For the Defence of the Free Indonesia*. Tan Malakka is one of the founders of the revolutionary socialist movement of Indonesia, is one of the great heroes of the anti-imperialist struggles there, is anti-Stalinist and has been characterized by the world press as a Trotskyist.

Despite some obscurity in the original text the article is of considerable interest;

It states that "there are four things essential for the Indonesian Republic in the future:

1) Solid unity as between different nationalities." This section appears to deal with the need for a strong party. . . . "A government resting on the support of such a party is enabled to take quick decision which is necessary or apply the corrective measures in so far as the general line is concerned." . . . "This is the reason why the dictatorship of a single party is the best way out in a period of deep going changes. It is, however, necessary to take measures to prevent the degeneration of the party-dictatorship into personal dictatorship. There must exist within the party the opportunity for discussion, on the principle of the freedom of thought, while a strict discipline must exist rela-

UNITED STATES

The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, through James P. Cannon, its national secretary and the founder of the American Trotskyist movement, has issued a call for united action in defence of civil liberties.

Comrade Cannon pointed out that the current witch-hunt and violations of civil rights in the U.S. are "spreading like a terrible disease" and cited the continued abominable mistreatment of the Negro people and the rejection by Congress of promised civil rights laws, purges among government employees, the firing of college professors, the persecution of conscientious objectors, the harassment of liberal-minded religious leaders, the attacks on the public school system, the thought-control trials of minority political parties, etc.

He warned that this reactionary drive "is organically linked to the deliberate preparations for another war to be waged by an American military police-state." The means must be found, he said, to bring together the sincere defenders of civil liberties. "The need is for cooperation and coordination in a broad solid front of action. The SWP urges and would welcome such a development and would give a wholehearted support to it."

Meanwhile the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reports important progress in rallying support for James Kutcher, legless veteran who was fired last summer from a government job for membership in the SWP.

Five world-famous scientists and scholars, including Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and director of the U.S. War Research Atomic Bomb Project, have called upon their colleagues at the University of Chicago to join them in defending the legless veteran.

Many meetings are being held across the country to rally support for Kutcher's fight. An increasing number of unions are throwing their weight behind the fight with moral support and financial aid.

JAPAN

For the first time a Trotskyist nucleus has been formed in Japan. The Japanese Trotskyists are in the process of forming an organization and have decided to publish a journal and some of the important works of Trotsky in the Japanese language.

Where is Left Wing of CCF Going

(See Page 3)

LABOR CHALLENGE

Official Organ, Revolutionary Workers Party



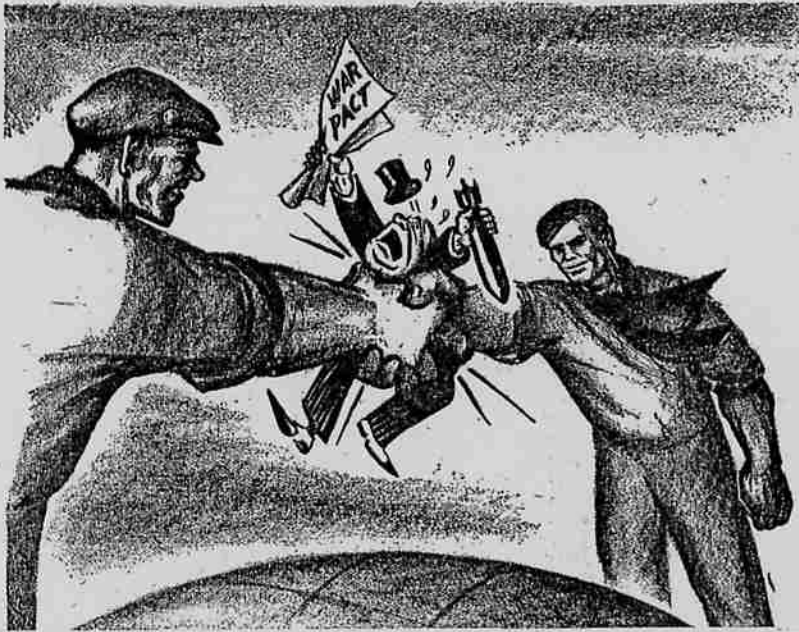
Canadian Section, Fourth International

(70) TORONTO, MAY, 1949



PRICE: 5 Cents

The Spirit of May Day



B.C. YUKON CCF VOTES AGAINST ATLANTIC PACT

Special to Labor Challenge

VANCOUVER.—In the closing hours of its sixteenth annual convention and almost a full day after the stormy discussion held in closed session on the matter, the B.C. section of the CCF voted 54 to 46 against support of the Atlantic Pact.

This vote, repudiating the National leadership's support of the Atlantic Pact, a position that Coldwell boasted to the house had been "arrived at through discussion in the most democratic manner," was cast in the face of the most treacherous and bureaucratic opposition imaginable. Under the spurs of the Liberals and Tories with whom they are completely united on foreign policy the national leadership rushed the notoriously cynical and adroit bat-

anti-Atlantic Pact resolutions that came from six different clubs.

In the remaining hour that had been set aside for discussion on this key question any of the 134 delegates who desired could speak for a meagre three minutes. One delegate was on his toes to protest this double dealing. The protest was audible but chairman Cameron declared the motion carried before the majority of the delegates realized the vote had been taken.

Lewis went the limit in advancing the national leadership's treacherous advice that it is necessary that the workers ally themselves with Yankee imperialism projected war on the USSR. threatened and pleaded with (Continued on page 3)

MAY DAY MANIFESTO of the Revolutionary Workers Party

Capitalism on this May Day, 1949, holds over the heads of the Canadian workers the triple threat of unemployment, war and dictatorship.

Scarcely four years after the war for "the four freedoms" the thrust of American imperialism toward world domination has plunged the working class into fear—fear of the atomic bomb, fear of the most brutal regimentation, and fear of insecurity and hunger.

The capitalists speak of peace but they prepare for war. They howl about the "aggressions of the Kremlin" while they themselves plant naval and air bases on every continent. Their United Nations Organization serves merely as a smoke screen to hide their secret diplomacy, their international intrigues and maneuvers as well as their war preparations. Behind this facade stands the reality of the North Atlantic Pact, the greatest military alliance in history.

Since the publication of this pact there has been a tremendous increase in the war drive. Truman has publicly brandished the threat of the atomic bomb. Big Business and the Top Brass speak openly of a preventative war against the Soviet Union. In Canada the Federal government, the tool of St. James Street and Bay Street, has just adopted a budget which will gouge hundreds of millions of dollars from the workers of Canada to pay for the imperialist war preparations.

The capitalists whose interests are in war industries — the Merchants of Cannon and Death—already rub their hands in anticipation of gigantic profits; they prepare for "M" day—Mobilization Day—when the Brass Hats will take over the factories, the mines, the power stations, the railroads, etc., and clamp an iron rule on the workers.

The drive toward military dictatorship and total war has already torn great gaps in the ramparts of civil liberties erected to protect democratic rights. Beginning with the "spy trials," the deadly offensive daily grows in intensity and violence. In the Province of Quebec the "Padlock Law" destroys freedom of speech and assembly; police repression and intimidation knows no bounds. While the LaCroix bill has not been passed by the Federal parliament, Prime Minister St. Laurent has informed the press that the government is preparing a law which contains its essentials. In short, nothing will

escape the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, neither the left wing parties, the unions nor the religious minorities such as the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Anti-labor laws have been passed in several provinces: Bill 39 in British Columbia and Bill 60 in Quebec; the Ontario Tories have adopted the Federal anti-labor law passed by the Liberals. The bosses, with the aid of the police, use scabs to break strikes. The CSU is engaged in a struggle for survival on the east coast where it is faced with a lockout.

The top union bureaucrats are engaged in a witch-hunt of their own, inserting all sorts of anti-democratic clauses in union constitutions and expelling the militants. The United Electrical Workers CCL-CIO has just been suspended from participation in the executive

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 1)

council of the Canadian Congress of Labor for publishing an article critical of the CCL bureaucrats. The high-priests of the AFL and their Canadian agents attempt to limit the autonomous rights of the Trades and Labor Congress by threatening that organization with a split. These reactionary bureaucrats—who by no means represent the feeling of the union membership—are on the road to duplicating in the unions the methods and atmosphere of the police state which the capitalist politicians and Brass Hats are trying to impose on the entire population.

Specter of Unemployment

The workers are now face to face with a specter which has been haunting them since the end of the war: unemployment. From Halifax to Vancouver the ranks of the unemployed are swelling from month to month. Thousands of workers are unemployed while thousands of others are only intermittently employed. The big corporations amass unprecedented profits while the living standard of the workers is cut to pieces. The contradiction of poverty in the midst of plenty once more asserts itself in a productive system which has no other aim than profit.

Today depression, war, dictatorship—that unholy trinity of the

→ to p. 2

ab on Strikers lys CCF Leader

at item to come before the union panel of the British Columbia CCF Convention was appeal from CCF-MLA Her- Gargrave that the panel port a resolution urging the ncial Executive to re- der its decision to exclude eporters from the struck COUVER, DAILY PROV- The Provincial Execu- vote on this scab proposal een four for, four against, the chairman's vote ex- ing the reporters." grave urged the panel to e ban on the PROVINCE ise "we cannot overlook ublicity value of its wide lation"—"to continue the s to cut off our nose to our face." For the sake

LABOR CHALLENGE

(70) May 1949 - Page 2

capitalist system—faces the working class with a great challenge.

The workers of Canada, a million of whom are organized in unions, together with their powerful allies the American working class, today constitute the only hope of peace, democracy and plenty for this continent and the entire world. But the workers have not yet taken up the challenge.

The Union Bureaucracy

It is not the power of the capitalists that holds the workers in check. The little clique of millionaires could not hold back for long an awakened and organized proletariat. It is the leaders of the working class itself who block the road. These leaders—the Moshers and the Conroys, the Bengoughs and the Halls in the unions, the Coldwells and the Lewis' in the CCF—show today more than ever that they are totally incapable of orienting the working class of this country toward the proletarian victory. Their program for "peace" is only an echo of the lies of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and American imperialism concerning the "peaceful" aims of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact. They are indeed the lieutenants of the capitalist exploiters in the working movement.

They do absolutely nothing to protect imperilled civil liberties and offer only a token resistance to the anti-labor laws. The union leaders do not perform even their most elementary duties as unionists—that is to say, the defence of the living standards and working conditions of their members. They have beaten a retreat on the question of wage increases. They have remained virtually silent in face of the growing problem of lay-offs and unemployment.

The central leadership of the CCF and the parliamentary fraction of the party have not engaged in an energetic struggle for the needs of the Canadian people. They have voted for the war budget and they acclaim the Atlantic Pact.

The Stalinists, who yesterday were still marching hand in hand with the Liberals are today addressing themselves to the militants in the working class. But they continue, as in the past, to subordinate the interests of the workers to the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin, organizing peace congresses and representing the United Nations Organization as an instrument of peace. They bureaucratically direct the unions under their control and follow the policy of "rule or ruin" as they have just shown by their attempted split in the IWA-CIO in British Columbia.

This May Day should be the occasion for a thorough stock-taking by militant and class conscious workers of the words and deeds of the union bureaucrats of all stripes. It should be an occasion for inspiring and rallying the militant ranks of labor to fight the misleaders and traitors who sell themselves to labor's enemies.

Workers Program

On this May Day let us advance the program that alone can pave the way for peace, plenty and security.

Against the war-makers assert **THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO DECIDE THE QUESTION OF WAR OR PEACE!**

Against the gigantic war budget devouring the income of the workers, struggle for:

ALL WAR FUNDS TO BE DEVOTED TO BUILDING LOW COST HOUSING AND OTHER SOCIALLY BENEFICIAL PROJECTS!

Against the military alliance which aims to enslave the world, demand:

NOT ONE CENT TO SUPPORT OR ARM THE IMPERIALIST MURDERERS OR COLONIAL DESPOTS!

Against police-state measures and assaults on democratic rights, unite all sincere defenders of civil rights to fight for:

**COMPLETE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY!
NO RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND PICKET!
UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF BILL 60 IN QUEBEC, BILL 39 IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, OF THE PADLOCK LAW, AND ALL OTHER MEASURES OF OPPRESSION AGAINST THE UNIONS AND WORKING CLASS POLITICAL PARTIES!**

Against the threat of unemployment the working class ought to struggle for:

**THE 30-HOUR WEEK WITH NO CUT IN TAKE-HOME PAY!
A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS IN ALL UNION CONTRACTS TO SPREAD THE AVAILABLE WORK AMONG ALL EMPLOYEES WITH NO REDUCTION IN WEEKLY PAY!
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION EQUAL TO TRADE-UNION WAGES FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT!
A PROGRAM OF SOCIALLY-USEFUL PUBLIC WORKS!**

05-01-16

LABOR CHALLENGE

VOL. V, No. 5 (70)

MAY 1949

Strike Firm Policy Soft in Asbestos

Condensed from an article appearing in La Verite, French language paper of the RWP.

As this article is being written the press announces the breaking off of negotiations between company representatives and the Catholic Syndicates. The companies refuse to stop reprisals against the strikers or abandon the many charges against them.

To return to work under the conditions laid down by the union leadership would mean capitulation and betrayal. The workers would be no further ahead than before the strike. But the leadership wishes to end the strike at any cost. They exaggerate the importance of the point on which the negotiations were broken off—the withdrawal of the charges against the strikers. They try to convince the strikers that the acceptance of this demand would be an important gain. They want to get the strikers back to work and leave the settlement to the mercy of an arbitration board. They ask no guarantees on the demands for which the workers went on strike.

These demands were (1) a 15-cent wage increase to raise the base pay to \$1, plus 5 cents per hour for night work; (2) Two weeks vacation with pay; (3) A company contribution of 3 per cent of the payroll to a welfare fund; (4) Pay for obligatory Catholic holidays; (5) Union security.

Compare this with the conditions on which the leaders of the Syndicates are willing to settle. Here they are; (1) Certification of the syndicate on the old terms, (2) all strikers to be rehired without discrimination, (3) charges against the strikers to be withdrawn.

We insist that to return to work under these conditions would be complete defeat.

The companies, on the contrary, would be in a more advantageous position. Even admitting for a moment that arbitration might go in favor of the miners, the companies would never accept the decision, hoping that the miners would not strike a second time.

The strike is endangered but it is certainly not the strikers' fault. They have given proof of their courage in one of the most militant struggles in the history of the French Canadian working class. They have smashed every attempt of the bosses to break their strike.

But they cannot win their strike alone. They must be joined by the organised workers of the province.

It is the Syndicate bureaucrats who bear the responsibility for the isolation of the strike. They show by their present attitude that they don't want a united front. They refuse to organize joint public meetings with the AFL and the CIO, or to consider sympathy demonstrations.

But the strike can be won. The militants must call for the united front in the local, regional and provincial councils. A display of strength will show the bosses that the French Canadian masses have had enough of exploitation and anti-working class repression. Workers! it is the future of your movement that is at stake at Thetford and Asbestos.

THE HOUR HAS STRUCK TO
DOWN TOOLS AND DEMON-
STRATE YOUR SOLIDARITY IN
THE COMMON STRUGGLE

LEFT JABS



Evil Passions

Opponents of Quebec's margarine ban, are "exciting appetites they cannot satisfy," Hon. Laurent Barre, Agriculture Minister said here yesterday. "The farmer has the right to be treated as a man. I am in favor of a salary fair for the family and permitting it to live but not to pay for vice, the cinemas and evil amusements," said the Minister.

The Montreal Star.

Windsor Readers

Contact LABOR CHALLENGE
BOX 25, WINDSOR, ONT.

Montreal Readers

Contact LA VERITE
Box 1482
MONTREAL, QUE.

05-01-2

LABOR CHALLENGE

(70) MAY 1949

05-01-3

Dissatisfaction of Br. Workers Rises

Railwaymen Want Control of Nationalizations

By JEAN LaPLANTE

Sir Stafford Cripps' "austerity" budget, hailed by the British Tories as a "sane" and "realistic" one, roused considerable opposition from Labor Party back-benchers who termed it appalling, reactionary and not a socialist budget.

Designed by the Labor Party bureaucrats to rescue a bankrupt capitalist economy, the budget bore heavily on the workers, increasing the prices of essentials like meat, butter, cheese and margarine. It maintained the burdensome income and purchase taxes; imposed new taxes; it saw only a cut in the price of beer. Labor Member Mark Hewison, a trade union official, told the Commons that the budget would lead to a spate of wage increase applications; "And then if the government dares to say 'no' to these applications, I give warning that there will be industrial disputes such as there have never been seen in this country since the end of the First World War."

A few days later, at the polls in the municipal elections, the La-



bor Party leaders suffered a rebuke from middle class supporters and sections of the workers. They dropped 255 Council members, the Tories taking over the local administrations in such coun-

ties as Middlesex, Essex and Northumberland.

Labor Party secretary Morgan Philips admitted that the party's losses were "severe." The result, he said, "is by no means a challenge to our political philosophy, but is a warning that we cannot ignore."

Less than a week later, London dock workers gave the Labor Party leadership another warning by crippling London shipping for almost a week. Almost 16,500 men belonging to the Stevedores and Dockers Union and the Transport and General Workers Union hit the bricks in the face of Labor Minister Isaacs' threat to bring in troops to break the strike.

The strike was in protest of the National Dock Board's dismissal of 32 men on the grounds of ineffectiveness — Bevin-boss language for too old for work or in failing health.

The British working class, who thrust the Attlee government into power in 1945, are alarmed by the

trends in the country. While Cripps preaches his gospel of austerity for the workers Big Business profits rise to new heights. In 1948 the national income rose 11 per cent over that of 1947. Corporation profits rose by 17 per cent and profits of unincorporated trades rose about 10 per cent.

While reforms such as the Health Services have eased the lot of the masses somewhat, the cost of living continues to mount. The National Union of Railwaymen, whose 460,000 members service the nationalized railways, has appealed to the tribunal for a wage increase of \$2.50 a week and has been turned down. The 726,000 coal miners have had their demand for two weeks holiday with pay turned down by the national reference tribunal for the coal mining industry.

Government commissions, packed by boss representatives and with a few labor bureaucrats, continue to pressure the workers for

(Continued on page 3)

Page Three

Railwaymen Seek Control of British Nationalizations

(Continued from page 1)

more and more production. The textile commission recently recommended fewer workers work more machines and the reimposition of bonus and other speed-up systems.

The nationalizations, whose purpose under the Attlee's is not the socialization of the economy but the rescuing of bankrupt capital and to "stimulate laggard sections of private enterprise", have imposed crushing burdens on the economy which are directed onto the backs of the workers. The Coal Board, which rejected the miners claim for a cost of living allowance on the basis that it would cost the industry £9,000,000 a year, has just announced that the former coal owners are to receive a global compensation of £164,000,000 for the now nationalized coal assets.

The former coal bosses, who continue to dominate the Coal Board, received in the first year of nationalization an interim compensation income of 12½ million pounds, a sum roughly equal to their profits for the years 1944 and 1945 and over double their profits of 1935. This interim payment accounted for over half of the deficit recorded by the Coal Board in the first year of the nationalized industry. The Coal Board's answer is not to cease payment to the former mine-owners but to tell the workers to work harder.

OPPOSE WORKERS' CONTROL

Dissatisfaction with the nationalizations has been rising in the ranks of the workers who want a say in the running of them. The April issue of the CANADIAN MINERWORKER carries an article by Herbert Tracey, chief publicity officer of the British Trades Union



BEVIN

Congress, which outlines the trade union bureaucracy's answer to these demands. The TUC bureaucrats reaffirm their position that "the best way of asserting the principle of public responsibility for the conduct of nationalized industry is that the board of a public corporation be appointed by a Minister who is in turn responsible to parliament."

They agree to trade union appointees but such "appointees must be in no way accountable to any other interests than those of the public." They hasten to place the workers in the industries most immediately affected by Board decisions outside "the public" by stating that they "consider it necessary that trade unionists who are appointed to serve on the boards of public corporations must withdraw from their service in the unions." The workers "representatives" are to play only a "consultative and advisory" role in the making of policy for the national-

ized industries.

That important sections of the British workers think that things should be otherwise has been verified by an investigation amongst railway workers carried out by the Railway Review, weekly publication of the National Union of Railwaymen. The March issue of Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Trotskyists, carries a summary of the findings.

Almost 500 railway workers, readers and non-readers of the Review, of various age groups and from various parts of the country, participated. The first question asked was: Did you support the Nationalization of the railways? 88.7 per cent replied yes. The second question was: After a year of nationalized ownership, did you find your job (a) Encouraging; more, less, about the same? (b) Frustrating; more, less, about the same? The reply was only 9.7 more encouraging, with 45.5 about the

same and 44.8 more frustrating.

The third question was: Do you feel you have a share in running the railways? Only 14.4 replied yes, 75.3 replied no, 10.3 doubtful. To the fourth question: Are you satisfied with the way your Local Department Committee handles questions about working methods, received the following replies: 38.8 yes, 53.2 no, 8.0 no reply. Do you think you ought to be consulted before changed methods are introduced in working, found 96.9 answering yes, 2.3 no, .8 no reply.

Summing up, The Railway Review concludes: "The fundamental conclusion from this small survey is that railwaymen at the moment are poor in heart. They feel very disappointed that they have not been called on to exercise more influence in the shaping of a national transport service. They are not so much concerned about such material things as wages and hours as they might have been. But they do want to feel that they are a living part of this great enterprise. They know that they are intelligent and educated. They have a wealth of practical experience without which the theoreticians are inarticulate."

The British Trotskyists support the Review's demands for full participation "in the management and direction of the service" and go on to point out that representative industrial organs as advocated by the Review are needed, with full legal right of access to all plans, documents and other data affecting operating and working conditions, and as the workers almost unanimously demand, with the legal right to be consulted before any changes in working conditions.

"Such an organization would reveal a hitherto deep and untapped well of knowledge of resourcefulness, without which the forward drive to socialism is not possible."

05-01-4

LEWIS SWINDLES CONVENTION WHICH WAY FOR LEFT WING

By PAUL KANE

The 54-46 vote cast by the delegates to the 16th annual B.C. CCF Convention against the CCF leadership's traitorous support of the Atlantic War Pact is having profound repercussions across the country.

The capitalist press is calling upon the "responsible" the "sincere" M. J. Coldwell to gouge out and drive from CCF ranks those "traitorous" persons who refuse to go down the line with their imperialist ambitions. The vote has disturbed the Bay Street and St. James Street stooges of American imperialism. They recognize that vote as an expression of the deep and elemental opposition of the Canadian masses to another war.

The CCF leadership is equally disturbed. The strongest section of the CCF has completely repudiated their commitment of the party to support of World War III. Coldwell and Lewis live in fear that this cry of opposition will be taken up in other sections of the CCF where there is deep doubt and disquiet; that it will organize around a correct program and drive them from their well padded and decorous positions.

The B.C. opposition bravely with-

stood their attacks, their attempts to trick it and gag it. But at the same time as the struggle disclosed a powerful opposition to the war plotters that is only seeking the opportunity to express itself, the opposition revealed appalling weaknesses that show that it is of the utmost importance that it examine the lessons of the convention.

Sunday evening just a few hours after the stormy session that saw the convention reject the pact, the newly elected Provincial Executive unanimously supported the CCF National Council's position of support of the pact. How can this be, have the majority no representation on the executive, or if it has, why was it silent?

The utter confusion in the opposition's own ranks was clearly revealed in Saturday's session. How is it that Dorothy Steeves became the spokesman for the Atlantic Pact opponents when it is obvious that her position on the pact can be considered opposition to it only with the greatest stretch of the imagination?

How was it that the trick resolution presented by Grant McNeill, supposedly as a substitute for all six resolutions voicing opposition to the pact and the National Council, turned out to be a complete whitewash of the National Council and its support of the pact?

And above all, how is it that it was endorsed by the majority of the delegates?

The fact of the matter is that the opposition was absolutely directionless. There was no leadership. There was no clear cut and consistent policy. The reason is that the opposition itself did not have a clear understanding of the Atlantic Pact, the actual causes of war and how to fight it.

The bulk of its supporters mistakenly look upon the Wall Street dominated United Nations as an instrument of peace and oppose the pact because they also mistakenly believe that the Pact bypasses the UN. They failed to understand that the conflict between such opponents of the pact and the CCF bureaucracy is a meaningless one and explains why the Steeves, etc., continually lose their balance and fall into the Coldwell-Lewis camp. That is why the opposition fell for the trick resolution that was cooked up as a substitute for the six anti-Atlantic Pact resolutions but which condoned the National Council's support of the pact, emphasizing that it too held "that UN must become the chief agency for settlement of international disputes. . . ."

Such a resolution satisfied Steeves and others of the provincial leadership but it did not satisfy the bulk of the opposition who understood that, aside from all the clap-trap about the UN, the Pact was a long stride in the transformation of the cold war into a shooting war. It was this pro-

found conviction of the majority that forced the leadership to open up the question for a vote for or against the pact the next day.

The majority registered their opposition to the pact and in the process, in the conflicts with the leadership on a host of other questions, obtained a clearer understanding of the real role of their own leadership. But by treachery and deceit and thanks to the directionlessness of the opposition the Coldwell-Lewis supporters remain firmly in office.

The convention sharply posed the real problems confronting the CCF rank and file . . . above all the question of leadership and program. It is necessary to commence the task of building a left wing in the CCF. The B.C. opposition can be its foundation.

There has long been a "left wing" in the B.C. section. But this "left wing" contains such fakers as George Weaver who after exposing the capitalist source of war and the Atlantic Pact as a war pact can end up with the astounding observation; "Should the workers then oppose the North Atlantic Pact? No; it isn't worth while."

It is led by political opportunists such as the centrists Dorothy Steeves and Colin Cameron who typical of their breed have always been long in talk and short in action . . . "left" in words only. This centrist current has been the main barrier to the development of a serious opposition in B.C. to the national leadership. They have acted as a safety valve, letting off steam and preventing organization. They have set a tradition of opportunism. They have encouraged a contempt for principled politics and a hatred for political theory.

But there is a new opposition arising. It must begin the job of really arming itself, programmatically. It must come to understand; that the source of war is capitalism and its mad drive for profits, sources of raw materials and markets; that the only way to fight war is to fight capitalism; that Stalinism must be fought by working class, class struggle methods and its destruction cannot be farmed out to the class enemy. The opposition must rally forces around a series of demands that represent the true interests of the workers, many of these demands were indicated at the convention in the fights against the Coldwell leadership.

The opposition must exchange ideas through the various clubs, hammer itself into an organized force around a principled program. It can begin the fight on this new plane by issuing a call through all the clubs for the holding of a national convention. The Coldwell leadership covers its support of the pact with the claim that this is the position of the CCF membership. It made this claim when an important part of that membership was the B.C. section, which has now said its word. The opposition must demand that a convention be held to thrash out and discuss the question of war, to arm the workers for the fight against the war drive.

B.C. CCF Convention Highlights & Sidelights

LABOR CHALLENGE

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The national state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the army for the protection of customs has become a frightful impediment to the economic and cultural development of humanity. Not the defense of the national state is the task of the proletariat but its complete and final liquidation.

—Leon Trotsky.

A Good Move — But —

In an impressive demonstration of class solidarity, 650 workers at the Ontario Malleable Iron Co. in Oshawa, Ont., have voluntarily reduced their working hours from 40 hours to 32 hours a week in order to avoid a threatened lay-off of 250 of their ranks.

The workers, members of the United Steelworkers of America, CCL-CIO, reduced their hours, however, with the same hourly rate and therefore took a corresponding cut in take home pay.

The cut back in production at Malleable Iron is a result of the increasing glut in the Canadian market which has been building up since the end of the war. The artificial war scarcities created by the diversion of production away from domestic consumer goods, and into instruments of war created a back-log of orders which were the basis for the postwar "boom."

Raging inflation is wiping out the "backlog" of buying power possessed by the masses. In many fields the "bloom is definitely off the boom" reports the April 23 *Financial Post*, authoritative organ of Canadian monopoly. The workers are again being asked to pay the shot for capitalist anarchy. The price is loss of jobs, reduced pay cheques, and increased insecurity.

The workers at Malleable Iron took a progressive step when they agreed to reduce their hours in order to avoid a lay-off for their fellow workers. But only a step. Why should the workers suffer because of capitalist anarchy? Why should the Malleable Iron workers take an 8-hour wage cut, which means even less bread and butter on the table, fewer pleasures, because of the bankruptcy of this system? Let the bosses pay the shot for their crimes against the workers.

No lay-offs but also no wage cuts! Organized labor must rally its forces in struggle around the slogan of a sliding scale of hours. No lay-offs, divide the available work amongst all the workers, defend the right to have a job! But also at least defend what we have, our present meagre living standards, by forcing the monopolists to pay out the same take home pay. A sliding scale of hours clause in every contract is the answer.

World Peace Congress Fraud

The fraud of the Paris "World Peace Congress" found its most insidious expression in the keynote speeches at the opening session. Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist, and other speakers after him, claimed that this conclave would reply to war "with the revolt of the peoples."

The capitalist press in this country pretends to be shocked by this bombast. But as a matter of fact the war-makers have nothing at all to fear from such empty "threats." Similar statements designed to "frighten" the imperialists have been made countless times by all reformists. Their only effect is to lull their own followers into a feeling of false security, to demoralize the labor movement and obstruct a genuine anti-war struggle.

The futility of such threats as a way of combatting the danger of war was clearly pointed out by Lenin back in 1922. In a letter to the Soviet delegation at the "Hague Anti-War Conference," Lenin wrote:

"Our reply to war will be a strike or a revolution," say the reformist leaders when addressing the working class. And very often the apparent radicalism of this statement satisfies and appeases the workers and peasants.

"Perhaps the most correct approach to this problem would be to begin with a sharp refutation of all such opinion; to declare that especially now, after the recent war (1914-1918), only the most hopelessly stupid or confirmed hypocrites can believe that such an answer to the question of the struggle against war would have the slightest effect anywhere."

What Lenin meant was war is unavoidable so long as capitalism remains the dominant world system; that unless the masses have been mobilized for the struggle to establish socialism, talk of preventing war by "the revolt of the peoples" can only deflect these masses from a successful struggle against war.

The Stalinists have done everything in their power to peddle the idea that it is possible to have peace under capitalism through a deal between the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and American imperialism. To this end they have consistently suppressed every independent action by the masses that would have led them onto the highway to socialism—the only answer to war.

The very "Peace Congress" that utters empty threats of "revolt" remains deliberately silent about — socialism. That is why it is not and can never be an instrument for peace, but only a wretched masquerade which, like all its predecessors, provides so much grist to the war-mills.

"You want to fight against war, fight then against the bourgeoisie in times of peace, refuse to vote military credits, do not enter into alliance with the bourgeoisie, build brick by brick your own independent revolutionary proletarian party." — Lenin.

LABOR CHALLENGE

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**INSIDE REPORT
ON CHINA WAR**

(The following is a report by the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Chinese section of the Fourth International.)

SOMEWHERE IN SOUTHERN CHINA, April 5. —
The present situation in China is dominated by three outstanding facts:

1. The spectacular victories of the Stalinist-controlled peasant armies.
2. The bottomless bankruptcy, corruption and disintegration of the Kuomintang regime.
3. The political indifference, demoralization, paralysis and disorganization of the city working class.

It is universally recognized among the Chinese people that the surprising victories of the Stalinist peasant armies are a tribute not so much to its own strength as to the abysmal corruption of Chiang's arch-reactionary rule. The great military debacle coincided with economic bankruptcy which in turn caused an irreparable disorganization of the regime itself.

... The fatal turning point came with the rout of the Kuomintang campaign in the Suchow campaign where all the military advantages were on Chiang's side. But his army was corroded through and through, the top command pervaded with corruption and the ranks undermined by the deepest demoralization. The final blow came as Madame Chiang was turned away empty handed after a frigid reception at the White House. Without American gold, the strands of Chiang's regime began to unravel, and his undercover opponents, the warlords, local militarists and political cliques, began to turn against him.

CHIANG'S WITHDRAWAL

Confronted by internal collapse and by rising rebellion in the southwestern provinces, Chiang for a brief moment assumed the role of dove of peace. But the five conditions he offered as a basis for negotiations were a transparent effort to gain a breathing spell and were deservedly rejected by Yen-an. Under the pretext of a leave of absence, Chiang quit the capital, but from behind the scenes he is still trying to hold the strings of Chinese politics in his hands, hoping that tomorrow he will be able to make a comeback a la De Gaulle.

At this most critical juncture, when the Kuomintang reshuffled its cabinet in the hope of getting a breathing spell, Mao Tse-tung proclaimed his eight-point program, the basis for another rotten compromise. To be sure, the "liber-

ating army" is consolidating its positions and threatening to cross the Yangtze. But it is clear from all the broadcasts and proclamations from Yen-an and from the Stalinist actions in the occupied cities that Mao Tse-tung is trying to come to power through a short-cut of maneuvers with the capitalists and not through a solid revolutionary alliance between the peasants and city workers.

UNDER THE STALINISTS

What is happening in "liberated" China? A series of the most abominable crimes are being committed in the name of the revolution. As far back as last May, land reform was formally taken off the agenda. Under the new Stalinist policy, struggle for division of the land in newly liberated areas is prohibited, confiscated lands is to be restored to the landlord and "excesses" are to be severely punished. In formerly liberated sections the peasants are to decide for themselves whether to retain the seized land or to return it to the former landlords.

A decision was also adopted protecting native as well as foreign industry and trade, and was accompanied by a series of decisions legalizing a longer working day (from ten to twelve hours) and cutting wages to a level even lower than under the Kuomintang.

MILITANTS MURDERED

When the "liberating army" occupied the cities, all the old organs of the Kuomintang regime were preserved intact. But Stalinist "political workers" spare no pains to hunt down and ruthlessly suppress any spontaneous proletarian action. From a worker, just escaped from Tsinan (capital of the Shantung province), we learn of this horrible incident:

As the "liberating army" approached, the workers in his factory instinctively understood that it was time to liberate themselves. They drove out the boss and set up a factory committee to control production. They were immediately visited by a Stalinist political worker who demanded to know who was responsible for this action. The workers replied that they had decided in common to liberate themselves. He then insisted that the committee men follow him to headquarters. There they were chained together and led to a courtyard where they were

massacred wholesale by a firing squad. The factory was then returned to the frightened owner.

In another factory where a strike broke out for the simple economic demand of equal treatment, the strike was brutally crushed by the Stalinists and three strikers stood up before a firing squad.

... There was not a solitary mention of the workers' demands in

Mao's eight-point peace program. Not the eight-hour day for which the Chinese workers have fought from the beginning; nor the "sliding scale of wages" which was partially won by the Shanghai workers; nor the freedom to strike, assemble, etc., although rumors are current in Kuomintang areas that these rights are being trampled upon by the Stalinists.

"PRODUCTION CONTROL"

Enterprises formerly controlled by the Kuomintang, called "bureaucratic capital," were simply transferred to Stalinist military authorities. They have promised that private stocks in the nationalized enterprises will be returned to the proprietors. A counterfeit system of production control has been set up under a joint committee representing labor and capital, reminiscent of Mussolini's corporate control. There is not the slightest change of property relations in the industrial centers.

Here then is the Stalinist type of "revolution" — a "revolution" led by the very people who fear it like death itself. The Chinese peasant movement is being betrayed and the peasant army is being transformed into a reactionary bourgeois instrument for the suppression of the proletariat! Herein is the core of the new development in the tragedy of the Chinese revolution.

Although the "liberating army" is knocking at the doors of Shanghai, China's greatest industrial center, the proletariat remains indifferent, cool and full of doubt. The sporadic spontaneous economic strikes were caused more by the unbearable inflation than by the victories of the Stalinist armies. Of all the turbulent struggles, not one occurred as a positive, enthusiastic political reaction to the Stalinist victories. Indeed, it offers a woeful contrast with the revolution of 1925-1927 when the Shanghai workers greeted the northern expeditionary army with an insurrection. The epidemic of disillusionment has spread to Peiping, penetrating the consciousness of the intellectuals whose vague radical sentiments are branded as "infantile leftism."

MAO AND STALIN

Chinese Stalinism is now at the zenith of its strength after 20 years of vicissitudes. But the closer it comes to power, the more it concentrates within its own ranks all the complex and unresolvable problems of the whole nation. Today Mao Tse-tung is capitalizing as much as possible upon the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union and upon the great resentment of the Chinese people towards American imperialism.

Tomorrow this same Mao-Tse-

tung will be obliged to deal with foreign imperialism as his sole savior to disentangle him from the multitudinous and almost insoluble financial and economic difficulties which his coming to power will confront him with. He will be attracted toward the orbit of western imperialism more irresistibly than Tito.

Stalin is aware that China is too big and too dangerous a bomb for the Kremlin to play with. Basing himself on the fresh and bitter experiences with the Yugoslav rebel, he is now nurturing a 100% pro-Moscow force in Manchuria. General Lin Biao's army, the elite of the Stalinist armed forces, was especially equipped and trained in Manchuria under the auspices of the Kremlin. The most significant step taken by Moscow was the appointment of Li Li-san, a die-hard tool of the Kremlin and Mao's old bitter enemy, to head Manchuria. While Lin Biao's forces were marching on Peiping and Tientsin, a rumor circulated that the quarrel between Lin and Mao had been aggravated. Although there was undoubtedly some exaggeration in the rumor there was also some modicum of truth. How else explain why Liu Shiao-tse, organizer for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, openly denied the existence of any Titoist tendencies in his party, reaffirming loyalty to "international communism"?

It is obvious that Mao Tse-tung is being watched by Stalin through the excellently equipped army of Lin Biao and through the alert eyes of Li Li-san. The threatening clash between Mao Tse-tung's nationalism and Stalin's pseudo-internationalism is only a distorted reflection of the conflict between the interests of the oppressed Chinese people and those of the Soviet bureaucracy represented by the malignant theory of Pan-Slavism.

INEVITABLE CONFLICTS

Another inevitable conflict within the Stalinist camp will be produced by the entry of the best proletarian elements into the Stalinist movement. The more brutally Mao enforces his anti-labor policy, the deeper will become the gulf between the top bureaucracy and the rank and file within his own party in particular, and between the exploited workers and his party in general.

There is plenty of evidence to show that revolutionary tendencies are sporadically but incessantly rising in the "liberated" rural areas. A large number of Stalinist workers have been executed with the aim of eliminating the specter of "Trotskyism." The scattered nature of rural society has thus far prevented this opposition from finding organized political expression. But it is quite different in the industrial centers where the well-organized workers will provide a solid framework for a revolutionary regrouping within the Stalinist party and the working class as a whole. Herein lies the perspective for the growth and development of Chinese Trotskyism, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Election Treachery of Stalinist LPP

(See Page 3)

LABOR CHALLENGE

Official Organ, Revolutionary Workers Party

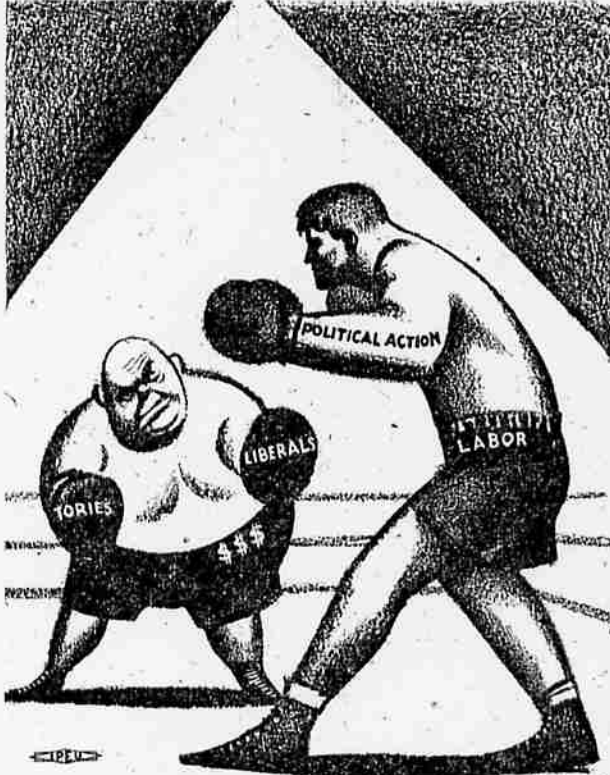
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VOTE CCF — REJECT BOSS PARTIES



06-01-1a

National Secretary Reaffirms RWP Policy of Critical Support

By ROSS DOWSON
National Secretary of the RWP

As the Federal and the B.C. provincial elections approach, the people of this country are being bombarded with a barrage of radio broadcasts, public meetings, leaflets, and circulars.

The Big Business interests who have a stranglehold on the economy of this country and who are looting its vast natural resources are splurging millions of dollars into the election campaign chests of the two political parties which serve their selfish interests. Both parties, both the Liberals and the Tories, are the spokesmen of the big financial and industrial interests of Bay and St. James Street. Their representatives want to perpetuate this system of recurring unemployment, devastating wars, poverty in the midst of plenty, disease and insecurity that are all rooted in the private ownership of the means of production.

So discredited have the two old line parties become in the eyes of the masses that today we witness Prime Minister St. Laurent, wealthy corporation lawyer, director of several powerful corporations and fascist-minded Tory George Drew labelling one another "agents of Big Business." They vie with one another in making grandiose promises to the electorate. St. Laurent, who only last year snarled that no government of which he was part, would ever subsidize housing and who screamed that even if 11,999,000 people opposed the war this country would go to war, tours Canada promising houses to the homeless and protesting his hatred of war.

The Tories and Liberals hurl defiance at one another but their battle is a mock battle. They stand united in the plans that are being laid in the back rooms at Washington and Ottawa for the 111rd World War. They stand together in intransigent opposition to all legislation that would defend or raise the living standards of the masses of this country. They use their offices and their powers to wage war on the organized labor movement by promoting inter-union warfare, by inciting police violence and terror, by passing and enforcing anti-labor laws such as B.C. Bill 39, the federal anti-union law, etc.

The final, the absolute proof that there is no essential difference between these two parties, that both are agents of the capitalists, is revealed in their election saw-offs. The Liberal and Tory parties which will joust with one another on June 27th in the federal elections will be united in a coalition in the B.C. elections taking place just two weeks previously. They have made a deal over four seats in British Colum-



DOWSON

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bia now held by the CCF.

Aligned against these twin agencies of Big Business in almost every riding in the country are candidates of the CCF. With 32 members in the last house, the government in Saskatchewan and the opposition in several other provincial houses, the CCF has the active support of the most decisive sections of organized labor. The CCF has been endorsed by the powerful Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) which is raising a war chest and galvanizing its forces for this election. A new wind is sweeping through the slow-to-move TLC-AFL. An influential CCF Labor Committee is gaining strength in the Toronto AFL Council, the largest in the country.

The CCF represents a fundamental break from the old-line capitalist parties; it represents the first large-scale stirrings of the Canadian masses into the realm of working class politics; it represents today the principle of independent labor political action. It is in this sense that the Revolutionary Workers Party, Canadian section of the Fourth International, gives critical support to the CCF and calls upon the workers to vote it into power on June 14th and 27th.

At the same time the RWP warns the workers that the CCF program is false to the very core; that its present leadership is a treacherous one which, if it manages to maintain its stranglehold over this mass movement, can only lead it to defeat and disillusionment. The RWP calls upon the

(Continued on page 4)

SUPPORT CCF

(Continued from page 1)

workers to support the CCF but at the same time to battle against its present leadership and transform the CCF into a labor party under the control of the trade unions.

The treacherous character of the Coldwell-Lewis leadership was glaringly revealed when, without consultation with the membership and in the face of the majority opposition of the B.C. Convention and known opposition within Manitoba and other sections, it supported the Atlantic Pact—blueprint for World War III.

The Coldwell-Lewis leadership is in an unholy alliance with the most cynical and ruthless sections of the trade union bureaucracy which under the cover of the red scare is crushing all opposition to its rule, promoting raids and jurisdictional disputes. CCF leader Coldwell has publicly attacked the Canadian seamen, who are locked in struggle with the shipping bosses and the government, for participating in a strike which he dares to charge is "in part caused with the purpose of slowing the flow of aid to Europe."

The Coldwell leadership is not even capable of advancing the fundamental principle that the movement which it leads has come to represent . . . labor political action.

He betrayed the principle of labor political action when he repeated to a meeting in Brantford: "In St. Johns one of our supporters asked me at a meeting whom he should vote for in a place where there is no CCF candidate. I told

him I couldn't advise him but he should choose the lesser of two evils. I guess Mr. Drew read that and I guess he knows who is the lesser of two evils."

By promoting the false theory of the lesser of two evils between the Tories and Liberals Mr. Coldwell undercuts the very basis of existence of the CCF. By setting the CCF the perspective of becoming merely the opposition to the Liberal machine in the next house, and a very loyal one, Coldwell is undermining the whole CCF election campaign.

COLDWELL BETRAYS

The Liberals have not been slow in taking advantage of Coldwell's treachery. External Affairs Minister Pearson effectively dismisses the CCF as having no chance to form a government. "In fact, that's the last thing they desire" he remarked as he made the claim that "a vote for the CCF means throwing a vote to the Progressive Conservatives."

Not only has Coldwell undermined the whole CCF election campaign by promoting the theory of the lesser of two evils. He has brought discredit to the movement by, on his own, publicly, making vast changes in the declared aims and objects of the CCF. Among many of the far reaching changes that Coldwell has announced so far in the campaign is the dropping "of our original policy that favoured abolition of the Senate." Coldwell told a Napanee audience that the CCF would consider such measures as an age limit and an elective senate.

The RWP gives critical support to the CCF but the RWP rejects the program of the CCF leaders. The CCF program is not socialist. Its policy is nationalist instead of being internationalist. Its program is one of a patch-work reform of capitalism instead of its complete overthrow and replacement with a socialist society; it is utopian instead of scientific. The CCF confines its actions almost entirely to the parliamentary arena, rarely participating in the day to day struggles of the workers.

We call upon the workers to elect a CCF government because the election of CCF candidates by the workers is a forward step on the way to the formation of a mass working class party with a revolutionary program—an essential condition for the final victory over capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

06-01-16

LABOR CHALLENGE

06-01-2

Trotskyism Haunts Commons

"HE TALKS LIKE A TROTSKYITE," snarled Minister of Labor Humphrey Mitchell.

"WE CAN DO WITHOUT A TROTSKYITE HERE," interrupted Liberal M.P. Mutch as Rodney Young, CCF M.P. (Vancouver Center) spoke on the Atlantic Pact in the house of commons on April 29, "tense and pale-faced" under the watchful eyes of CCF leader Coldwell who, according to parliamentary reporters, "listened carefully."

At the convention of the B.C. section of the CCF which rejected Coldwell's support of the pact with a vote of 54 to 46, Rodney Young bitterly assailed the pact. He pleaded with the convention to cast a clear cut vote on the issue. He characterized the North Atlantic Pact as a war alliance and pointed out that the M.P.'s would be called upon to vote a doubled war budget on their return to Ottawa. He asked that definite direction be given to the M.P.'s by the party membership to oppose the pact.

But on April 29 Young spoke in the house and cast his vote FOR the pact. In complete contradiction to the stand he took at the B.C. convention Young declared that "I do not believe that it is a pact for war. I believe it is a pact for peace."

All the CCF M.P.'s went down the line with the Atlantic "WAR" Pact. For how a Trotskyist would have conducted himself in the house of commons on April 29 see the article by Ken Andrews on this page.

By KEN ANDREWS

Speaking not only for the Revolutionary Workers Party but also for the vast majority of Canadians, the workers, poor farmers, and small shopkeepers, who have nothing to gain and everything to lose from a third imperialist world war, I oppose ratification of

the North Atlantic Military Pact, signed for Canada by Minister of External Affairs Pearson, along with representatives of seven other capitalist powers, including clerical-fascist Portugal.

Although the Atlantic Pact is represented as an instrument to preserve peace, its real aim is to preserve outlived capitalism. While propaganda in support of the pact is directed only against Stalinism, the pact itself is directed against the movement for socialism. This is demonstrated by the record of post-war diplomacy and by the presence of fascist totalitarians in the Atlantic Alliance.

The aim of the adherents of the pact, including the government of Canada, is not to curb or remove the Kremlin oligarchy as some of you openly proclaim but to destroy the system of nationalized economy in the Soviet Union, impose upon the Soviet people the rule of monopoly-capitalism under a fascist-like dictatorship, and in the process, stamp out all socialist movements everywhere in the world.

To serve this sinister aim, a reactionary coalition is forming under the leadership of imperialist America with Canada playing the role of the junior partner in crime—a coalition whose only require-

ment for membership is the support of the capitalist system.

Among the signatories to the pact you will find the Salazar government that has kept the people of Portugal under totalitarian police rule for the last 23 years. As the Dutch government signed the pact they decreed that "Indonesia is outside the spirit of the pact," and the Dutch imperialists, with the aid of American dollars and military equipment, continue to suppress by force and violence the heroic attempt of the Indonesian people to win freedom and independence.

Equally hypocritical is the French government which seeks to crush by force of arms the struggle for freedom in Viet Nam, Algeria and Madagascar.

Even before the pact was signed a campaign was started in Canada and the United States to include in this so-called freedom alliance, the butcher Franco, who maintains his brutal fascist rule over the Spanish people by executing his political opponents.

Article 3 in the pact calls for a vast increase in the arms and military forces of the signatory countries. This clause also provides for military co-operation, standardization of armaments, sending of military equipment and

(Continued on Page 2)

TROTSKYISM HAUNTS HOUSE OF COMMONS

(Continued from page 1)

advisers from Canada and the U.S. to the bankrupt capitalist governments of Europe. Already Canada has shipped in January alone, to the decadent blood stained Chang-kai-Shek government, over 1 1/4 million dollars worth of goods including \$339,000 worth of guns.

If this does not prove the aggressive intentions of the pact, a glance will show that the Canadian and American workers are being taxed to pay for the weapons of the most aggressive kind; long range bombers, battleships, new and improved atomic bombs, guided missiles, and research in the possible use of germ warfare.

The Canadian workers are called upon to pay in the fiscal year 1949-50 alone, 375 millions of dollars for national defense, (this is 16% of the entire budget, and this item is surpassed only by the interest on the National Debt, which was caused by the last war). Of course the budget does not mention the cost to the Canadian people of the Marshall Plan, the rearming of Europe, and the maintenance of the UN or the money spent in military and atomic research, all of which are part of the costs of war preparations.

The Financial Post, organ of the Bay Street bosses, shows what this means to the Canadian workers when it says "For some time at least we (the workers of Canada) may have to make some sacrifices in our high standard of living. We may have to face still higher taxes, to work longer hours."

For the Canadian people the cold war has already meant high prices, heavy taxes, a vicious attack on their civil liberties (the Padlock Law in Quebec, the anti-labor laws in B.C., P.E.I., and Alberta). The Tory party has promised that if elected, it will outlaw the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party which would be another de-

clisive blow against what democratic rights the workers still have in Canada to-day.

These hardships and evils inflicted upon the Canadian people are the natural consequence of the governments' war-like foreign policy, for there is a direct and immediate connection between foreign and domestic policy. If parliament should ratify the Atlantic Pact, conditions will rapidly grow ten times worse as further steps are taken to impose military police state rule over the Canadian people in preparation for impending war.

For these reasons I urge the CCF members to listen to the voice of the B.C. section of their party that has gone on record as opposing the Pact, to defend the interests of the Canadian working people who will be called upon to lay down their lives if this war plot reaches fruition, and to cast their votes with mine against the Pact. Our vote and our voices can be the rallying point for the struggle which will usher in the socialist society that will do away with the scourge of war for all time.

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Bengough to Dump CSU Seamen Win Br. Support

By PAUL KANE

June 3.—The Canadian Seamen's Union, locked in a life and death battle with the shipping moguls who are aided and abetted by capitalist governments and police on an international front, has received another body blow. This time it comes not from the scab herding Seafarers International Union, not from its boss-loving sponsor, Frank Hall, nor from the strikebreaking Canadian govern-

ment. The treacherous blow is dealt in this hour of peril by the Executive Committee of the Trades and Labor Congress.

It is now certain that the executive of the TLC, to which the CSU is affiliated, is preparing to cast the battling seamen to the wolves. President Bengough and company are knuckling under the ruthless bureaucratic AFL boss William Green and his Canadian henchmen. Faced with a threatened withdrawal of the powerful AFL affiliates, and after groping for three days to find a formula that would permit it to reverse its previous position of supporting the hard pressed CSU, the TLC executive has passed the fateful decision to a three-man committee.

BENGOUGH RETREATS

This committee, merely a face saving gesture, has been given full power to make a decision. The decision if it is left in the hands of this committee of cringing bureaucrats, if the TLC-AFL rank and file does not rally to the side of the CSU, is certain to expel the embattled CSU, to caste out and isolate the heroic seamen from the ranks of the labor movement.

Bengough's cowardly retreat before the rule or ruin dictate of the AFL hierarchy stands out in sharp contrast to his stand of only two months ago. Then, in an open letter to the 400,000 members of the TLC, he and Secretary Buckley lashed out in defiance of the "audacious attempts" of the AFL machine to "disfranchise Canadian members and make the TLC a stifled appendage of the AFL." Bengough charged that Green's demands that the TLC purge its ranks of "every vestige of Communist influence" were a smoke screen to cover an "attempt of the AFL to dominate the TLC."

Today, Bengough has not only capitulated to the demand that the CSU be driven out of the TLC but he has submitted to Green's edict that international representatives be given the right to cast block votes at conventions, thus transforming TLC conventions into a pilant tool of the bureaucracy.

SIU GETS TOUGH

Emboldened by the TLC capitulation and the further weakening of the CSU which it is attempting to smash on the East Coast, the SIU has instituted a blockade at the Great Lakes port of Detroit against two large Canadian shipping lines that are under CSU contract.

H. C. Banks, hooligan director of the SIU, has threatened that he will have his fellow bureaucrat Joseph Ryan pull the U.S. International Longshoremen's Union

and tie up British ships in U.S. ports if dockers in British ports continue to refuse to unload Canadian SIU manned ships.

SOLIDARITY

While the seamen continue to battle it out in ports throughout the world the main scene of action has shifted to Great Britain where inspiring sympathy strikes in support of the CSU are gathering increasing strength. When 150 stevedores at Avenmouth were suspended by their union leadership for refusing to work an SIU manned vessel, 1200 added their strength in protest to tie up the entire port. All attempts of the British trade union leadership to force the stevedores back to work have failed. There are now well over 2,000 out in Bristol and Avenmouth and another 1,500 at Liverpool. SIU manned ships are tied up at many other ports including London, Southampton, Leith and Portshead.

The fighting support of the international labor movement has lifted up the imperilled CSU. All TLC-AFL unions in this country must put the heat on their leadership to stay the foul plot to expel the embattled Canadian seamen.

06-01-3

LABOR CHALLENGE

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If it is not liquidated in time by socialist revolution, fascism will inevitably conquer in France, England and the United States, with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini or without this aid. But fascism is only a respite. Capitalism is condemned. Nothing will save it from collapse. The more resolute and audacious will be the policy of the proletariat the less the socialist revolution will provoke sacrifice, the sooner mankind will enter upon a new road.

Leon Trotsky, April, 1939.

Asbestos

Of all battles that have taken place between the working class and capitalism in the Province of Quebec, the strike of the asbestos miners is the most important.

The magnificent determination of the strikers in their resistance to police terror; the uprising that led hundreds of workers to the barricades in Asbestos; the attitude of the Duplessis government towards the conservative Catholic Syndicates; the open intervention of the Roman Catholic forces in Quebec are factors which give to this strike an enormous economic, social and political significance.

This strike is having repercussions far beyond the boundaries of Quebec. It has wrung cries of anguish and alarm from the ranks of the capitalist class. On the labor front it has roused class solidarity of a nation wide scope.

The indescribable terror perpetrated by the provincial police in Asbestos is a very clear indication that the capitalist governments are out to destroy the labor movement. The actions of Duplessis in Asbestos where the workers belong to the church dominated Catholic Syndicates, is a blunt answer to the red baiting leadership of the Canadian trade union movement: it does not make an iota of difference to the capitalist class and state whether you are or are not a red dominated union.

The militancy of the asbestos miners, their resistance to the brutality of the police and to the provocations of the bosses is a proof that the working class is capable of great initiative despite all the efforts of the labor bureaucrats to strangle that initiative and militancy.

In one sweeping movement the asbestos miners, who belong to one of the most backward trade union organizations on the North American continent; who have been priest ridden for generation after generation; who have been taught to respect and obey their capitalist masters threw aside all prejudices and staged the greatest show of strength and proletarian leadership and courage in the history of Quebec.

* * *

For Trade Union Control

We have long advocated that the trade unions should take over the CCF. That they should not merely endorse the CCF as their political arm, supply it with funds and manpower as they do now but that they should move in and determine policy. We have urged that the unions demand that the present terms of affiliation be scrapped and new ones set that will give them the decisive word in the CCF.

Failure on the part of the unions to achieve this objective has already resulted in serious set-backs for the CCF and the principle of independent labor political action which it represents to the mass of the Canadian working people.

Last March, the Stalinists, in alliance with the most conservative elements, working on the dissatisfaction of the Nova Scotia steelworkers with the actions and inactions of the CCF M.P.'s and the fact that the union has no word in CCF policy bodies, were able to swing the powerful Local 1064 to reject a motion to affiliate to the CCF. In the past this local had made many donations to CCF election campaigns and paid expenses of union delegates to CCF conventions.

At Windsor, home of the mighty UAW, on April 22, Local 195 went on record against endorsing CCF candidates in that community. Only a short time previously Local 200 tabled action until it knew who the CCF candidates were going to be. On May 7 the residential CCF Club in the Essex West riding voted Archie Cherniak, a small successful businessman, to be CCF candidate in that solidly working class city.

The Stalinist dominated Political Action Committee of Local 200 grabbed this to recommend non-endorsation of Cherniak, and, to carry the trick forward, proposed President Roy England and Assistant Regional Director Tom McLean as candidates for Essex West and Essex East.

McLean blasted the committee for using his name without permission. England ridiculed his nomination, "the persons making it are not serious."

The petty bourgeois Cherniak gave fuel to the Stalinist-rallied reaction with such statements as "a party that sets labor up as a class by itself can never hope to be elected as a government."

On May 16 Roy England reported that a general membership meeting of Local 200 voted overwhelmingly to support CCF candidates in Essex East and Essex West. But despite England's use of the word "overwhelmingly" the vote was a close one. A motion to give \$2,000 to the CCF campaign was defeated.

If Stalinist demagogues and reactionaries are to be prevented from seriously impeding CCF development and the principle of labor political action; if the CCF M.P.'s are to be compelled to defend the interests of the Canadian workers at all times; then it is absolutely essential that the trade unions and the CCF rank and file cut down the Coldwell-Lewis bureaucracy and take over control of the CCF.

RWP in Bolivian Struggles

Heroic tin miners of Bolivia, striking since May 28 against the arrest and deportation of their union and political leaders, are rallying support throughout the country. All government attempts to crush the strike have been futile. The massacre of scores of workers, the jailing of hundreds, the deportation of still more leaders on May 30, and the general mobilization order to alert the entire army against working class demonstrations, have all served only to tighten the workers' ranks.

Sympathy strikes have paralyzed railroad transportation. In the capital city of La Paz, 8,000 workers walked out on June 1, shutting down textile mills, glass and furniture factories and breweries.

Capitalist press reports call the miners' strike "revolutionary." They compare the drastic government action to those of a regime in the throes of 'civil war.' A government spokesman is quoted as saying the "disorders" were "promoted by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the Revolutionary Workers Party."

There can be no doubt the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) is playing an honorable role in defense of the miners. An RWP leader, Guillermo Lora, was among those deported on May 30. The party has deep roots among the

workers; Lora was elected to Parliament in January, 1947, on the Proletarian United Front slate that included RWP and independent miners' candidates.

Two other Members of Parliament elected on the Proletarian United Front ticket, have also been exiled. They are Juan Lechin, head of the National Federation of Mine Workers, one of the first to be victimized; and Mario Torres, also a miners' representative, deported with Lora.

It is extremely unlikely, however, that the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), a middle class tendency of government employees and lower officers, is participating in the struggle on behalf of the miners. Previous reports from Bolivia have described the MNR as fascist in program.

The strike began at the "20th Century" mine of the Patino Company, scene of the bloody battle when armed troops attacked the union headquarters. The death toll is listed in conflicting reports as anywhere from 35 to 150 dead, hundreds injured. At least two of the American mining executives alleged to have been taken hostage by the strikers, were killed.

Hatred of the American imperialists and their agents is deep and justified. The Morgan-Rocke-

efeller interests and British capitalists together dominate the economic and political life of Bolivia, condemning the native workers to miserable poverty, sickness and early death.

Bolivia is virtually a one-product country—tin, produced by the huge Patino, Hochschilds, and Aramayo companies. Ninety per cent of Bolivia's national income is derived from its mineral wealth, especially the tin controlled by these three monsters. The mining population numbers some 200,000 men, women and children, exploited with equal ruthlessness.

Regardless of age, sex or strength, these workers toil underground in mines 10,000 to 13,000 feet above sea level. Their exhausting labor in the high altitudes, their meager diet limited to the corn and beans their poor pay can buy, their squalid homes, all make the miners easy victims of tuberculosis and other ravages of poverty.

These are the factors that "promoted" the strike. These are the conditions that every Bolivian worker knows about. The inspiring solidarity of the city workers with their brothers and sisters in the mines, is a demonstration against the imperialist exploiters and their Bolivian henchmen who hold the reins of government.

4th INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR CHINA

(The following report by the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of China, section of the Fourth International, was written 16 days before the renewal of hostilities in the Chinese civil war. The first installment appeared in our last month's issue.)

SOMEWHERE IN SOUTHERN CHINA. — Shortly after Chiang Kai-shek's "retirement" in January, the Chinese Trotskyists issued a declaration exposing the Kuomintang's strategy and the treachery of the Stalinist eight-point peace program issued by Mao Tse-tung. Extracts from this declaration follow:

"Only an upsurge of the Chinese working class can thwart the new compromise being sought by the Stalinists and prevent a new tragedy such a compromise would inevitably prepare.

"The outstanding feature of the present situation is that while the peasant armies are scoring unprecedented victories and while the bourgeois regime is engulfed by unprecedented bankruptcy, the Chinese working class is lacking a powerful party armed with the correct program and able to provide the workers with revolutionary leadership.

"In part, the passivity of the working class is the result of bloody repressions by the Kuomintang over a long period. But it is also the result of the capricious swings of the Stalinists from opportunism to adventurism and back again, over an equally long period. Above all it is the Stalinists' recent anti-labor policy that has produced among the workers an attitude of indifference, bewilderment, doubt and paralysis in the face of the military victories of the peasantry.

PROGRAM FOR WORKERS

"To the Chinese working class, we Trotskyists point out that in the absence of a powerful proletarian party the peasant army has fallen into the hands of conciliators. It is being used by the top bureaucracy of the Stalinist party as a means of striking a bargain with the bourgeoisie in the establishment of a 'coalition government.' Once it begins playing the role of guardian of a coalition government, the peasant army will of necessity be used by the bourgeoisie and by the conciliators as a weapon against the workers.

"You workers dare not nurse the illusion that you will be liberated by some other hands. You should rapidly consolidate your own forces, revive and strengthen your own class organizations, create a new proletarian leadership. Under a new leadership you will be able to fight successfully against imperialism and its tool, the Chinese bourgeoisie; to sweep aside the conciliators, who obstruct the struggle; to take the path to independent political action through the day-to-day economic battles; and to enter through the democratic struggle the road of struggle for a Workers and Peasants Government.

"Only in the course of united action can the confidence of the peasantry in the urban working class be revived; can the poor peasants inside and outside the peasant army be drawn away from the bourgeoisie and the conciliators; and the solid foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance laid.

PROGRAM FOR PEASANTS

"To the poor peasants, to the rank and file armed peasants, to

American aid, fight against the Kuomintang's preparations for resuming warfare and the conscription of manpower and materials. Our slogans must especially emphasize demands for the release of all political prisoners, for the abrogation of all 'emergency' and martial laws, for the liquidation of all 'extraordinary' agencies of repression, and for complete freedom of speech, press, assembly and for the right to organize and strike.

"Only through agitation and struggle around these slogans can the people freely organize themselves, engage in action and prepare for the overthrow of the Kuomintang's rule. In this area our general slogan is: Down with the Kuomintang government! For a National Assembly chosen by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage!

AGAINST CP POLICY

"At present the Communist Party has placed one half of China under its rule. We must pay particular attention to systematic agitation and propaganda in the Stalinist-controlled area. Above all, we must point out to the masses that the so-called 'people's government' under the auspices of the Stalinist party is in essence a military bureaucratic dictatorship propped up with guns. In the final analysis the power of the Communist Party bears a bourgeois character, basing itself primarily on the petty-bourgeois peasantry. Power of this kind is quite unstable.

"Thus we must place special stress on the slogan of 'complete freedom of speech, press, assembly and for the right to organize and strike' as a means of mobilizing the workers and peasants to freely organize themselves for the fight against the oppression of the Stalinist military dictatorship.

"As against the reactionary Stalinist policy of taking over the old organs of Kuomintang rule intact and incorporating the Kuomintang army into the 'liberating' army, we demand the complete annihilation of the old Kuomintang regime and the liquidation of the Kuomintang army.

"Instead of the reactionary Stalinist practice under which the property of the Kuomintang bureaucratic cliques is simply taken over by the new upstart bureaucrats and instead of cooperating with capitalists, we demand the setting up of factory committees for the control of production.

CONTINUE FIGHT

"Against the Stalinist agrarian policy, we fight for the confiscation of all landlord and kulak land without compensation, dividing it among the poor peasants and fighters, under the auspices of the committees of poor peasants.

"As a substitute for the 'new assembly of political consultation' through which the Stalinists seek a rotten compromise with landlords and capitalists, we advocate the convocation of the National Assembly chosen by universal, direct and secret suffrage.

"And against the 'coalition government of all classes' we counterpose the Workers and Peasants Government.

"A genuine peace is conceivable only through a stormy revolution — that is, the total overthrow of Kuomintang rule together with the whole foundation of bourgeois society, establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government, fulfillment of the historic democratic and national tasks, entry on the road of socialist construction and finally extension of the revolution itself to all other countries of the East as well as of the world. This is the only way to prevent the new world war in which China will inevitably be once more a tragic victim."

We Trotskyists understand that in the first stage of the Stalinist dictatorship we will be isolated temporarily from the broad masses. What is more, we know that we are threatened with physical annihilation.

The bloody tragedy of our Vietnamese movement is still fresh in our minds. The siren song of Stalinist "new democracy" will never lull us to sleep. That is why we have moved our Central Committee from Shanghai to a more suitable place where we shall be able to maintain close contact with our local branches and to continue the struggle for revolutionary emancipation whose success we confidently expect to see, despite the great difficulties now facing us.

06-01-7

ANTI-WAR PROGRAM OUTLINED TO CONGRESSES BY DE SILVA

The widespread fear of war, the profound mass desire for peace, was exploited in two Congresses held in Paris late in April. One, staged by the Stalinists, called the Congress of Partisans of Peace, was attended by Dr. J. G. Endicott as representative of the Canadian Peace Congresses set up by the Stalinists. His return was utilized to rally a Canadian-wide assembly of the Peace Congress in a mass meeting at Massey Hall, Toronto. The other was sponsored by the French Rassemblement Democratique Revolutionnaire (RDR).

Like confidence men who exploit the misery of the poor and prey on the lonely, the Stalinists and the Stalinophobic RDR dangled before the masses the hope for peace, if only they would follow the Kremlin in one case and Washington in the other.

The Trotskyist position towards these two masquerades for "peace" was one of outright opposition. As a representative of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International, Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Trotskyist group in the Ceylon Parliament and representing also the "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism" which embraces most of the national mass movements of the colonies, sought to appear before the Stalinist Congress. He was never refused permission, nor was he admitted—he was given the run-around.

De Silva issued a bilateral statement (which we reproduce) against the Congress which found a place for every individual blubber mouth representing no one but himself, but would not hear the voice of revolutionary socialism from a representative and intransigent leader of the oppressed masses.

The RDR masters of ceremony, among whom were a number of renegade Trotskyists, tried to give de Silva the same run-around. Grudgingly, they gave him four minutes but kept delaying until the end of the meeting, when an uproar from the audience forced them to give him the floor. We also reproduce his speech to the RDR.

SPEECH TO THE RDR CONGRESS

Comrade Chairman and Friends;

... Since I have had difficulty in getting the floor, I would emphasize that I speak as a Trotskyist, as a member of the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International. It would seem that we colonial revolutionaries, especially when we are Trotskyists, are greatly feared at all metropolitan congresses against war. Is it because we in the colonies are today engaged in an ever spreading direct and even armed struggle for freedom?

Anyhow, only a few days ago I was refused entry as a delegate to the Congress of the so-called Partisans of Peace. ... Today, I have had the greatest difficulty in getting the platform at this Congress, is it because the struggle for freedom against British Imperialism has no relevance to a Congress for resistance to dictatorship and war? Or is it because I am a Trotskyist? I shall not go into the question now because this is perhaps not the time to engage in criticism on that score. Let me turn to the objects of this conference. This is said to be a conference for resistance against dictatorship and war.

Resistance against war! Do

you mean any war? Are you then against the war of the Viet-Nam-ese against French Imperialism, of the Indonesians against Dutch Imperialism? Surely not!

We are not against any and every war but against IMPERIALIST war. We are against imperialist war but FOR the class war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We are against the colonial wars of the imperialists but FOR the wars of the colonial peoples against the imperialists and for complete independence. We are for the Indonesian guerrillas, the Viet Nam resisters and the Malayan freedom fighters against the Dutch, French and British imperialists. If this conference does not make this fact clear, then it betrays the colonial peoples.

There is more. The prop of all imperialisms today is American imperialism. It is American imperialism that brought back Dutch imperialism to Indonesia, and French imperialism to Indo China. I say, therefore, DOWN WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. PRINCIPAL PROP OF WORLD IMPERIALISM! If this conference fails to say this, it betrays the revolutionary struggle.

One thing more regarding this question. You say you are against war. Are you then ready to go on record demanding of every member of the Imperialist Parliaments that they refuse to vote war credits and military budgets? We colonial revolutionaries have not forgotten how we have been betrayed on all sides in this matter. ... Yes, the Stalinists have betrayed us! But are you ready to go on record not only against the Stalinists but against all who vote for war credits? Yes, my friends, are you ready?

I turn to the other question. This is a Congress against dictatorship. We Trotskyists are certainly against dictatorship as a form of government; but not only on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain where we Trotskyists have to work underground. We fight against the dictatorial form of government everywhere. I, for one, cannot forget that there is also another Iron Curtain for me, for I WAS REFUSED A VISA TO AMERICA ENTIRELY ON THE GROUND THAT I WAS A TROTSKYIST; is this conference ready to go on record in protest against that refusal?

Yes, my friends, we are against dictatorship as a form of government. But we are also for the dictatorship of the proletariat against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the workers state against the capitalist state, and therefore, for the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Yes, my friends, if we say: Down with the Soviet Bureaucracy! We also say at the same time: Long live the Soviet Workers State!

I am told that my time is up ... I must therefore leave aside the question of how to fight the Stalinist dictatorship ourselves

without letting it become a weapon in the hands of the imperialists. American Imperialism is today seeking to utilize our natural hatred of the Stalinist dictatorship and its crimes to launch an attack on the surviving conquests of the October Revolution. Our job is to find a way forward without falling into the arms either of Stalinism or of Imperialism, without falling into the rival power blocs, without taking sides in the so-called cold war.

I have a slogan to give you that will point the way. The task before those who really want to resist dictatorship and war is to develop the class struggle. It was Lenin who issued the call during the First Imperialist World War: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war!" I give you a similar slogan now. Let the oppressed and exploited of the world rise against their oppressors and exploiters. Let the class war rise in its power in all lands. TURN THE COLD WAR INTO CLASS WAR! That is the only way forward.

PRESS RELEASE ON THE CONGRESS OF PARTISANS OF PEACE

By COLVIN R. de SILVA

PARIS.—I was prevented from being a delegate at the Paris Congress of Partisans of Peace, obviously because I was a Trotskyist.

The Bolshevik Samasamaja Party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International, has seven out of 95 elected members in the Ceylon Parliament. It is therefore no insignificant factor in the life of the country.

The party sent me, the leader of its parliamentary group, not to join in some hurrah-mongering chorus at this congress, but to make a constructive contribution to the planning of the struggle against the war threat which we think is real.

We think that the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is the elementary duty of every honest labor organization. But we also hold that the defense of the Soviet masses against the violence of the Stalinist bureaucracy is essential to the defense of the October Revolution's surviving conquests. Therein lies the job for the organizers of this congress.

I had also some pertinent questions to ask. There were also peace Congresses before World War II, but they ended in the Hit-

ler-Stalin Pact. Is the present struggle for peace to end once a Truman-Stalin pact is achieved?

THE LAST TIME

To us, this is no idle question. The last time there was Anglo-Soviet-American accord, i.e., during World War II, I was in a British Imperialist jail, and the Communist Party folk in Ceylon cooperated with those who held me there. When I broke jail, went underground, crossed over to India, and joined in the great uprising of 1942, the Communist Party of India joined the British government in the task of hunting me and my comrades. What guarantee have we, therefore, that a Stalin-Truman agreement will not again be made at the expense of the colonial struggle for independence.

"The last time" there was Anglo-American-Soviet accord, the Communist Party of France, for instance, went into a coalition government. No colonial revolutionary can forget that during these conditions the war against Viet-Nam went on uninterrupted and there was a terrible massacre in Algeria which was first exposed by the American press. What guarantee have we that the next Soviet-American accord will not lead to a repetition of such policies?

Let me stress that the European workers have similar experiences. For instance, during the honeymoon of Anglo-American-Soviet cooperation, the Stalinists helped to set up capitalist governments and to disarm and suppress the fighting partisans who were reaching out to revolutionary power.

CLASS PARTISANS

We Trotskyists hold that war is

the product of capitalism and that peace cannot therefore be achieved by policies of compromise with the capitalists. Nor can peace be fought for with the methods of the fellow-travellers. A true partisan of peace must not be a blind adherent of Stalin but a partisan in the class struggle. The struggle against war and for peace is also the struggle against capitalism and Stalinism for Socialism.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE CCF DEBACLE?

The Agents of Defeat—The CCF Leadership



M. J. COLDWELL



ANGUS MacINNIS



DAVID LEWIS

CCF Leaders Aided Big Liberal Sweep By Weak-Kneed Electoral Policy

By PAUL KANE

What happened to the CCF vote? That is the question that is perplexing thousands of workers who believe that it is necessary to fight Big Business politically as well as economically. It is small consolation to read the B.C. CCF News headline the "Provincial Vote No Landslide," or the Alberta Peoples Weekly headline on the federal election "CCF Vote is Down Only 1.4%." Labor suffered a crushing defeat in the June 27 elections.

It is true that despite the fact that the CCF lost almost a score of seats, its vote was only 1.4% lower than 1945. But the CCF leaders and the working class expected and had every right to expect a great boost in votes and a gain of at least a score of seats. Since the 1945 election the CCF had made great headway. In 1948, with the Canadian Congress of Labor solidly behind it, the CCF won three federal by-elections hands down. In the same year it swept through the industrial ridings in the Ontario provincial elections.

It is false to place the blame on the Big Business slander campaign. Scare campaigns will always confront labor; the closer it approaches power the more hysterical and vicious they will become. But such campaigns will never stop labor's drive for power—it is much too fundamental to be stymied by paper abuse.

CCF leader M. J. Coldwell explained the CCF defeat: "the people of Canada voted as they did to keep Drew out of power . . . in their desire to keep him and the Tories out of office, they swept everything before them." Murray Cotterill, Canadian Congress of Labor political action director, blamed the defeat on the determination of the voters in industrial ridings to eliminate the Drew machine; "The voters played it safe and supported the Liberals."

This explanation of the Liberal landslide and the defeat of the CCF is fundamentally correct. We accept it. But the workers cannot be satisfied with just an explanation. Could such a situation have been prevented? Why did so many workers fall for the lie that St. Laurent (leader of a party which had been in power for almost 15 years, is responsible for high prices, no housing, and in British Columbia is in coalition with the Tories) is a lesser evil than Drew? Why didn't they reject the two boss parties and vote the CCF?

The responsibility lies with the leadership of the CCF. They are the agents of the defeat. These leaders, who claim to represent the principle of labor political action, traitorously sold out this principle all during the campaign.

Why does the CCF exist? Why has the most powerful section of organized labor endorsed it as the political arm of labor? Because labor needs a political party of its own. Because there is no fundamental difference between the Tories and the Liberals—there is no lesser evil.

Not only did the CCF leadership criminally cut the very heart out of the election campaign by setting the CCF the modest objective of becoming merely the opposition in the house, but they denied the very principle that they are supposed to represent, which is the sole basis for the existence of the CCF.

The CCF leadership campaigned up and down the country, that the Liberals are preferable to the Tories . . . that the Tories are the main danger. They propagandized for, they promoted the Liberal Party sweep. They defeated the CCF in riding after riding.

Listen to the advice that Coldwell gave in St. Johns and repeated again at Brantford: "There, where there are no CCF candidates in the provincial election, I was asked how one should vote. I told them, you should use your own intelligence but choose the lesser of two evils. Mr. Drew knows which is the lesser of the two evils of Conservatism and Liberalism."

Hear what he told the people of Westaskwin on June 15: "The Liberal Government under Social Credit and Progressive Conservative pressure has moved back to uncontrolled markets and prices on which speculation thrive, farmers go broke and the consumers starve." Remove the Tory and Social Credit pressure on the Liberals and we shall surely see lower prices . . . the Liberals are really not so bad, says Mr. Coldwell. Can he blame the workers for taking his own advice—and voting Liberal?

With the defeat of the CCF some see a return to the two-party system. But the most obvious result of the election was the decisive

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Unions Line Up In New Wage Drive Bosses Prepare For Tough Battle

By JEAN LaPLANTE

This year's wage drive is finally getting underway as the government cost-of-living index shot up to a new high of 160.5 points on June 1, with the food index soaring 2.4 points over the previous month.

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and employed at the Canadian General Electric plants in Peterborough and Toronto have bogged down. The leadership has recommended that they go to conciliation.

The position of the trade union leadership stands out in sharp

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This year's wage drive is finally getting underway as the government cost-of-living index shot up to a new high of 160.5 points on June 1, with the food index soaring 2.4 points over the previous month.

The most powerful sec-

tions of Canadian labor to plank their demands before the profit fat corporations in the past month were the 15 non-operating railway brotherhoods affiliated to the AFL, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees affiliated to the CCL, the CIO Rubberworkers, and the United Packinghouse Workers of America (CCL-CIO).

SHORTER HOURS

The AFL railway brotherhoods, representing 100,000 workers, placed joint demands for a 7-cent-an-hour increase, plus a reduction in hours from 48 to 40 with the same take home pay and effective by September 1st. The CBRE, representing 35,000, is out for a check off, a 10-cent increase and the 40-hour week. The Rubberworkers have announced their demands — a 25-cent increase, union shop, 40-hour week, pension plan, etc.

The 15,000 workers organized in the UPWA (CCL-CIO) are demanding a 15-cent wage increase from the Big Three (Swift's, Canada Packers and Burns). They are also out for company financed welfare projects and the wiping out of wage differentials across the country.

BOSSES RESIST

Big Business is meeting the new wage drive with firm resistance all along the line. The bosses have launched a counter-offensive of proposals which if successful

would result in drastic wage cuts. They are stalling and spreading out negotiations. Top cards in their hands are the labor relations boards and the federal and provincial versions of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Steel Labor reports that since the new Ontario Labor Relations Regulations came into force last December, 39 locals of the United Steelworkers have filed applications for conciliation. So far only six have been settled. Cases are continuing to pile up before the boards as more and more contracts across the country expire.

RASH OF STRIKES

Boss resistance, negotiation stalls and government labor board red tape have brought about a rash of strikes. Over 1,500 steelworkers have struck National Steel Car in Hamilton in a so-called "illegal" strike. More than 1,000 workers employed by the bloated Aluminum Company of Canada in Kingston, members of the Steelworkers Union hit the bricks in a protest stoppage over a miserable 2½-cent company offer. There have been a series of wild-cats in Windsor auto plants, Kitchener rubber, etc.

Toronto members of the Amalgamated Lithographers (CCL-CIO) have been locked out in 17 plants. They had been negotiating for wage increases and the 37½-hour week. Negotiations between the 6,000 workers organized in the UE

and employed at the Canadian General Electric plants in Peterborough and Toronto have bogged down. The leadership has recommended that they go to conciliation.

The position of the trade union leadership stands out in sharp contrast to the bosses' intransigence and active preparations to take the offensive. They preach sweet reasonableness. They are co-ordinating none of the actions of their own locals let alone the union movement as a whole. They are making no preparations to back up union demands, they are making no preparations for strike action.

LOCAL 1-217 READY

The West Coast loggers' campaign for 15 cents across the board, a welfare plan, union shop and reduction of board rates, has met with solid resistance from Stuart Research. Last week the Bloedel mill at Port Alberni forced through the 48-hour week, openly flouting the present IWA agreement, with almost no resistance from the IWA leadership. IWA officials have announced that they intend to ask for conciliation proceedings. Only the powerful Vancouver Local 1-217 under the leadership of President Lloyd Whalen has made preparations for strike in case negotiations break down.

BACK UP WORDS

If the wage drive is not going to be hopelessly bogged down and the militancy of the workers dissipated in endless negotiations and government red tape; if the workers are to win anything like their justifiable demands; immediate preparations must be made to co-ordinate the actions of the various locals and internationals and to back up the demands with preparations for strike.

US Capital Increases Hold on Cdn Economy

Wall Street is accumulating capital and pumping in new capital to Canadian industry at an unprecedented rate, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports.

Since 1939 U.S. investments in Canadian business and industry have jumped almost one billion dollars. British investments have dropped almost the same amount through official repatriation of Canadian securities held in Britain and sales of Canadian securities by British owners.

In 1947 foreign capital invested in Canada totalled \$7,175,000,000. While British capital amounted to \$1,642,000,000 and other overseas capitalists had \$346,000,000 invested, American capitalists had \$5,187,000,000. American Big Business has four times as much capital invested in Canada as it has in any other single country. Its holdings here are equal to its total holdings in Europe, and they provide one-quarter of all income received on U.S. direct foreign investments.

Over 37 per cent of all capital invested in manufacturing in this country comes from the U.S. Wall Street tycoons have 2.7 billion invested in Canadian branch banks alone.

BEHIND THE CCF DEBACLE

(Continued from page 1)

Tax. Coldwell, without leave of the CCF membership, dumped the democratic demand for abolition of the Senate. The CCF leaders beat a shameless retreat before the red-baiting of the boss parties. Coldwell red-baited the hard-pressed CSU strikers.

The CCF leader's promotion of the false theory of the lesser of two evils and their intransigent opposition to the loosening of conditions of trade union affiliation and the transformation of the CCF and democratically controlled by them, accounts for the failure of the CCF leadership to rally the majority of organized labor to its side. Only 34% of union labor, according to the Gallup Poll which was within 1.6% accurate on the vote, voted CCF. Almost 42% voted Liberal.

This election, however, like the by-elections and the 1948 Ontario provincial election, continued the trend of the CCF away from an

agrarian middle class party to a labor party based on the urban and industrialized areas of the country. Big losses were registered in the Prairie Provinces. On the whole labor support remained fairly stable and in some ridings showed some gains.

The Globe and Mail, organ of the big mining interests, summing up the election results on its editorial page, shrewdly observed; "When the CCF has reorientated itself to its new role (becoming more like the Labor Party), and perhaps acquired a new leadership more fitting to its urban make-up, it could again become a serious threat."

This is the crying need of the moment—a new leadership—ditch the agents of defeat! Open up the CCF to the trade union masses—transform it into a labor party, not just a financial supporter and electioneering machine, but a party representative of and politically dominated by the industrial proletariat.

From lead story p.1

rejection of the Tory Progressive Conservative Party. In a desperate attempt to overcome the fact that in the eyes of the masses they represent the most hated section of Canadian society, the Tories resorted to an unprecedented campaign of demagogic promises. The Liberals, in an attempt to retain their hold on the masses, went even further to the left. But the CCF leadership went further to the right.

In fact programmatically, on all fundamental issues, the CCF appeared to be little or no different from the capitalist Liberal Party. In the B.C. provincial elections the CCF upheld the hated Sales

(Continued on page 4)



TROTSKYISM

Around the Globe

Workers — men and women — of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!

— Leon Trotsky.

EGYPT

The Egyptian people are now passing through a reactionary monarchical regime comparable only to what is going on in Greece and Spain. Since the end of the Second World War there has been a savage repression of progressive movements. In May, 1948, the government created concentration camps like those in Greece and Spain and launched a vigorous police campaign on a national scale, leading to the arrest of hundreds of leftist elements.

The two principal workers' movements in Egypt; The Democratic Movement of National Liberation (Stalinist) and "The League for the Revolutionary Struggle of the Peoples of the Middle East," the Egyptian movement of the Fourth International, were gravely affected.

Insofar as the Stalinists were concerned the repression had the effect of splitting the DMNL into half a dozen rival factions which do not hesitate to use the usual

Stalinist weapon even in the mutual struggles, denunciation to the police. Tens of arrests were made as a result of the Stalinist denunciation. The DMNL has almost totally disintegrated; this is due in large part to the fact that like all Stalinist parties it had only a handful of workers in its leading bodies. The overwhelming majority of the DMNL members and cadres are petty-bourgeois.

The LRSPME has not suffered the same fate. Although it has been seriously affected by the police terror and its fight is undoubtedly weak, it has regrouped its forces and remains united.

The workers' circles are honey-combed with spies under whose denunciation people can be arrested and thrown into the concentration camps for an indefinite period. The party has been bled white by repression and is terribly hampered in its work but the struggle of the Trotskyist militants continues.

HOLLAND

The Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch Section of the Fourth International, ran a slate of seven candidates in the municipal elections held on June 22. This is the biggest election campaign that the RCP has carried out since its foundation at the end of the war. The party's candidates ran in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen, Den Haag, Delft, Schiedam and Dordrecht. It had candidates on a United Front list in The Hague called "Independent Socialist Election Bloc" and it endorsed an independent "Slate of Workers'

Candidates' in the town of Slie-drecht.

Big issue in the campaign is Dutch imperialism's role in Indonesia. The party's candidates and both those of the Slate and the Bloc raise as their central slogan "Unconditional Independence of Indonesia." The government showed its apprehension with regard to the revolutionary content of the RCP propaganda by getting the social-democratic mayor of Amsterdam, d'Ailly, to seize RCP election posters which popularized the slogan of the withdrawal of Dutch troops from Indonesia.

INDONESIA

Tan Malaka, one of the founders and leaders of the revolutionary movement in Indonesia, was murdered in East Java on April 16 by the government of the Indonesian Republic, according to a statement by the Indonesian Information Service in New Delhi on June 6.

"Colonel Sungkono, Republican Military Governor and commander of Republican forces in East Java, confirmed the report . . . that he ordered the execution of Tan Malaka, ultra-leftist leader," says the Information Service release. "Tan Malaka was under house arrest in Ngandjuk but when the Dutch attacked that area (last December) he managed to escape. He was recaptured near Blitar after which he was executed."

Tan Malaka was an active revolutionist for more than three and a half decades. He was one of the founders of the Indonesian Communist Party, and its representative at congresses of the Communist International in Lenin's time. He rallied to the Trotskyist Left Opposition from the beginning, that is, from the coming to power of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Exiled from his country by the Dutch imperialists in 1922, he was able to come back in 1945, when he became the outstanding fighter

against imperialism and an irreconcilable opponent of all the Republican leaders who sought to compromise with imperialism.

A few months later the Republican government leaders arrested Tan Malaka on false charges that he had attempted to kidnap the Social Democratic premier, Sutan Sjahrir.

Then, last fall, he was released following a statement by Hatta, the president of the Council of the Republic, that "the inquiry in the Tan Malaka case had been closed for lack of any evidence, Tan Malaka not being guilty."

After his release, Tan Malaka was reported active in forming a new organization, the Proletarian Party, whose program was said to be along Trotskyist lines, and in leading armed forces against the renewed Dutch attack last winter.

The Republican government leaders are now engaged in negotiating a deal by which, in return for political concessions to themselves, they will serve as puppets for the Dutch imperialists. Their murder of Tan Malaka, who opposed their treacherous policies—or even their claim to have murdered him, if the report is not true—is testimony to Tan Malaka's unswerving loyalty to the cause of colonial liberation.

FRANCE

In the great Renault automobile works in Paris, the Stalinist officialdom of the CGT (General Federation of Labor) has been campaigning for months to expel the Trotskyist militant Baratier from the union on the usual trumped-up charges of dual unionism, etc.

An extraordinary heavy turnout resulted at the General Assembly of the union. Oldtime workers, with militant records, took the floor to defend Baratier and to identify themselves with his revolutionary program.

The Stalinists were so non plussed by this offensive that they not only withdrew their attempt at expulsion, but even had to tolerate the Trotskyist's election to the Executive Committee of the union at this same meeting.

Unlike here in Canada, the Stalinists in France are not on the run in the trade unions, but retain a good deal of their grip on it. That's what makes the Trotskyist achievement at Renault all the more impressive.

The Pay-Off On LPP Election Treachery

By ROSS DOWSON

Many workers won't believe it and it's highly probable that Tim Buck and the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party within a few years, and possibly within a couple of months, will deny it just as today they deny the fact that in the 1945 Federal elections they supported the capitalist Liberal Party. But the LPP in this federal election told the workers—DON'T VOTE CCF—"If there is no peace candidate . . . where there is no LPP candidate, write 'Keep Canada Out of War' on your ballot."

Do you find it hard to believe that in the 162 seats where the CCF ran against capitalist candidates unchallenged by the LPP Tim Buck would treacherously instruct the workers to throw away their ballots, for that is what marking "Keep Canada Out of War" on a ballot means.

Well, he did. The above instructions are from a leaflet prepared by the LPP National Office for distribution across the country. It is reproduced for all to see in the June 13 Canadian Tribune. The June 20 issue of the Tribune, which each week attempts to inject another dose of Stalinist lies and deceptions into the minds of the workers, was full of this advice.

Editor Leslie Morris in his column pontificates "If . . . you are not fortunate enough to live in an LPP riding there is no one for whom you honestly could vote. To vote CCF in your case is to give in to the idea that of the three candidates, the CCFer is the 'lesser evil'." Stalinist MPP and "labor expert" J. B. Salsberg carries the same line in his column.

The Trotskyists gave critical support to the CCF. We urged the workers to vote CCF. Not because of the CCF program, which is reformist, and despite the red-baiting, pro-war policies of the Coldwell leadership. We told the workers to vote the CCF candidate

regardless of the fact that many of the candidates are petty bourgeois careerists and opportunists. We said cast your vote for the CCF because it is, to use Morris' term, a "lesser evil" than the Liberals or Tories. Not just a "lesser evil" but a party of a fundamentally different class character. For Marxists there is no "lesser evil" in the Liberals, Tories or Social Credit. They are parties of the capitalist class — the CCF is a party of labor.

Buck's policy of "destroy your ballot" is, of course, the logical fruit of the line he handed down to the LPP rank and file last January which repudiated the idea that "the CCF is the progressive alternative to the old line parties."

As usual, there was a little latitude to the "vote only LPP" policy. But it didn't go the way any honest class conscious worker would think. Spokesmen of the Alberta LPP provincial office are reported in the July 4th CANADIAN TRIBUNE as proclaiming "a great victory of the united democratic forces in Vegreville." What happened there? Neither the CCF nor the LPP ran candidates, but a Liberal, J. Decore defeated a Social Credit A. Hlynka — this is the "great victory."

Leslie Morris rejects the correct idea that the CCF is a "lesser evil" than both Tory and Liberal spokesmen of Bay Street and upholds the traitorous idea that a Liberal is a "lesser evil" than a Social Credit. Incidentally the same Leslie Morris, in the 1938 by-election in Edmonton East, led the Social Credit victory parade and spoke on the platform with

present Social Credit Alberta Premier Manning.

As you may suspect, this line did not go down easy with honest rank and file LPPers. That is why the Tribune had to work so hard to try and put it over. And no doubt that is why Buck and Company had to make three exceptions to the over-all policy of "don't vote CCF at any cost."

Buck's professed reason for the switch on the CCF (the LPP gave critical support to the CCF from the end of its Liberal Party honeymoon Jan. 1948 to Jan. 1949) is the CCF leadership's support of the Atlantic War Pact. The LPP National Office statement explaining the leaflet says that "the LPP was prepared to back any CCF contestant who fought the Atlantic Pact but the CCF leadership has ruled out any such candidate."

Now, everyone knows that there is a powerful opposition in the CCF to the Coldwell-Lewis support of the Pact. The B.C. section at its last convention voted 54 to 46 against the Pact. Two of the leaders of the opposition to the Atlantic Pact, it is well known, were ex-CCF M.P.'s Harry Archibald and Rodney Young. Young was the only CCF M.P. who publicly put himself on record as opposing this war alliance. In the house he knuckled under to the Coldwell leadership and supported the pact.

The LPP supported three B.C. CCF candidates. But if you think it included Young and Archibald you are mistaken. In fact the LPP reserved its most vicious abuse for Rodney Young and ran one of its three B.C. candidates against him.

The three CCF candidates that the LPP found it possible to support were H. W. Herridge in Kootenay West, an M.P. in the last house, John Cameron in Comox-Alberni, and M.P. William

Irvine in Cariboo. In a statement in the June 24th Pacific Tribune, B.C. provincial organizer Rush, who ran against Young, tries to make out the case for the support of these CCFers. Rush can only confess that these three candidates "on some of the vital issues of this election have failed to take a bold stand . . . both Herridge and Irvine . . . did vote for the Atlantic war pact." If Herridge differed from any of the other 32 CCF M.P.'s he was outstanding as the most craven advocate of class collaborationist ideas in the house. He voted for the Pact on both occasions, including the first time when 10 other CCF M.P.'s were able to screw up their courage to the point of staying away from the vote.

The LPP vote in this election took a colossal drop. Three seats, the only seats in which the LPP claimed to have a chance and which Buck declared "are within our grasp," saw a terrific decrease in LPP vote. In Trinity, on which the entire Toronto-Yorks LPP machine concentrated its energies, Buck dropped to 5,930 from the 7,218 he scored in 1945 when the LPP spread its forces behind candidates in nearly every riding. In Montreal-Cartier, formerly held by the LPP, their vote dropped almost 6,000 to 4,809. In Winnipeg North, where the Tribune declared the fight was between the Liberals and the LPP, with the sitting CCF M.P. "sitting this one out," the CCF was returned and the Stalinist vote dropped almost 3,500 to 5,387 votes.

In the 18 seats contested by the LPP, in all of which they opposed a CCF candidate, with several of these seats having been held by the CCF in the previous election, the LPP polled 27,462 votes against the CCF's 127,433 votes. Three seats which the Liberals won

would have been CCF if the LPP vote had been cast CCF.

How to account for the melting away of the LPP vote? The Stalinists' 1945 vote reflected in large part their pro-Liberal policy of the time and the friendliness to the Kremlin encouraged by the government during the Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt alliance. Wall Street's cold war has brought an end to this honeymoon and cut away these fair weather supporters.

Even in his explain-away Buck does not give too much weight to the red-baiting campaign which at no time reached anything like the proportions it did in the 1948 provincial elections against Stalinists Salsberg and MacLeod who won that same area with an increased majority.

There is no doubt that the Liberal sweep, the fear of the Tories as the main danger, effected the LPP vote as it did the CCF's. From a comparison of the 1945 and

1949 Trinity vote it would appear that the votes lost by Buck were delivered direct to the Liberals who took the seat from the Tories. Buck was just as guilty all during his campaign as the CCF leadership, of playing up the pernicious line of the "lesser evil" between the two capitalist parties.

The treacherous policies advocated by the LPP are causing deep confusion in the ranks of labor. But an increasing number of worker-militants are learning that the Stalinist LPP is not a communist party at all. Through their pernicious policies such as their role in this election the LPP leadership is being revealed more clearly every day as a servile instrument of the Kremlin bureaucracy whose task is to cynically utilize the Canadian workers in Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers with world capitalism and above all cripple their genuine class conscious development.

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"Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not only of one country, will wars become impossible and from a scientific point of view it would be utterly wrong and utterly unrevolutionary for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing, namely that the most difficult task, the one demanding the greatest amount of fighting in the transition to socialism, is to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie. . . ."

Pacifism and the Workers—Lenin

07-01-4

terests of the industrial magnates both at home and abroad. All these expenses play no role in the process of production itself. They are necessary only to maintain the profit system.

If the profits stop for one reason or another the factories will be closed down. Here is the key to the whole question. Production takes place in the interests of profits alone. It is idle to talk as the CCF does about controlling investment and profit as a solution to the anarchy of capitalism.

The aim of the socialist movement is not only to take away the profits of the bosses, but the destruction of the profit system itself.

Only Three Cents

Pleading a heart-rending case before the annual meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers Association last month, Hugh Crumple of Montreal, chairman of the Association's education committee reported between sobs that its members, employing 400,000 workers, distributed only three cents in dividends to shareholders out of every "sales dollar."

What's even worse is that these financial sharks are taking only one-half as much gravy, as the public (by actual survey of the CMA) thinks is "reasonable." "Misleading and malicious stories about the profits of private business have flourished for too long in ignorance," writes the June 11 *Financial Post*. But it is *Financial Post* and the CMA that are spreading "misleading and malicious stories about the profits of private business" when they calculate percentage profits on the sales dollar.

Here is a typical case of corporation profits. In 1948 the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. of Canada Ltd. pulled down a net profit after taxes of \$54,713,094. Its 8,500 employees earned an average wage slightly in excess of \$2,000. Consolidated's 14,000 shareholders clipped dividend coupons to the tune of \$4.160 per employee. In other words, for every dollar an employee received, he made two dollars for the shareholders.

But these are figures arrived at from the bookkeeping of the company. No record is made of the enormous salaries paid out to its well-heeled executives. No public account is made of money turned into slush funds of all types to help maintain the status quo, the Trestrail's and the CMA's.

But our condemnation of the capitalist order does not end with the exposure of super profits. Enormous profits are only one aspect of the question. Profits do not exist of and by themselves. Around profits has been built an entire system which fosters a terrible waste both human and material.

In order to collect the profit he now gets, the boss has to spend huge sums on expensive advertising, high pressure salesmen, wasteful competition on the world and local market. Inefficient industries are maintained through subsidies and high tariffs.

As the crisis of capitalism grows, the state spends huge sums on an armed force whose duty it is to protect the in-

Paris Conference

The Prime Ministers' Council ended its month-long sessions in Paris with a communique announcing agreement on a few minor matters. But an AP dispatch summed up the conference better than anything in the communique when it said that the "unspoken theme" of the conference had been: "Let's keep the cold war cold — at least."

It was primarily an exploratory conference. The Western diplomats were interested in finding out if the cold war has had enough of an effect to wring serious concessions from the Stalinist bureaucracy. Vishinsky was sent to discover what response might have developed since the last "Big Four" conference to Stalin's often-repeated appeals for a deal.

From all indications, not much happened beyond these efforts at probing. There was no progress on a settlement of the German problem as a whole and nothing concrete on Austria except the selection of a date on which it is hoped a treaty will be worked out. However, the conference closed on a note of "limited accord," indicating that both sides remain open to further offers and that the discussions will probably be continued at a later date.

Some commentators have laid great stress on the conference's decision to permit resumption of trade between the eastern and western zones of Germany, seeing in this move preparations for lifting of the virtual blockade on trade between the East and West as a whole.

But as in all the other disputed questions, the problem of trade expansion depends on the overall political dispute, and the very limited agreement on trade within Germany will continue to represent a tantalizing nibble offered by each side to the other unless a political deal is worked out.

Meanwhile, even while both sides are feeling the other out, the cold war will continue, with the U.S. government determined to maintain its present advantageous positions.

Genuine peace will never be restored to the world so long as it depends on the Big Four powers, collectively or individually. The peoples of the world will have to step into the picture themselves and take things into their own hands if the permanent threat of war is to be lifted.

British Trotskyists Dissolve RCP Enter Labor Party

LONDON.—The national conference held last month by the Revolutionary Communist Party (British section of the Fourth International) decided by a substantial majority to dissolve the organization. The RCP called on its members and sympathizers to enter the Labor Party in order to "carry on the fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for a socialist Britain."

In the concluding issue of *Socialist Appeal*, the RCP states the reasons for this step. The statement begins by saying plainly that the economic and political reforms introduced by the Labor Government have not basically undermined the capitalist structure of the country. It stresses the dissatisfaction among wide sections of the working class with the policy of the Labor party and notes that this is reflected "however, not by seeking for a new or more revolutionary organization, but by striving to exert pressure through their established mass political organization—the Labor Party."

"The perspective for socialists," the statement continues, "must therefore be to join the ranks of the politically conscious workers inside the Labor Party and try to orientate its policy along truly socialist lines." It then gives a criticism of the Labor Government's actions and warns that the coming depression must bring a capitalist attack upon the social services and living standards of the workers.

To prevent such an attack, a bold policy is required, including further extension of nationalization to cover all industry and land without compensation, overall socialist planning conducted by boards democratically elected by workers' and technicians' committees at all levels, etc. It also stresses the need for a socialist foreign policy, calling for the withdrawal of British troops from colonial and foreign soil, and for steps toward the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The statement concludes: "We would prefer to have the right to enter the Labor Party as an organized body, affiliated in the same manner as the Fabian Society and other organizations. But this is not possible owing to the 1946 decision of the Labor Party regarding organizations seeking affilia-



08-01-1

World-Wide Trade Crisis Threatens Cdn Economy

The developing international trade crisis was highlighted this month by the British government's announcement that in order to halt the drain on its gold reserves it is compelled to cut imports from the dollar areas to the very bone. Caught in a squeeze between Wall Street (the dollar bloc) and the sterling area, Canadian trade problems have been steadily mounting.

made an enormous effort to escape being vanquished by German imperialism. That effort was crowned with success, but Britain was drained by it. Her dollar assets and foreign investments virtually vanished; she came out of the war much poorer than she entered.

tion. We have therefore dissolved our organization and will fight as individual members, within the framework of the constitution of the Labour Party, for the policy outlined above."

(73) August 1949

LABOR CHALLENGE

An End to Lies and Secrets Let the People Decide

By JEAN LaPLANTE

On July 21, passing almost unnoticed in the world press, appeared some revelations that should galvanize mankind. In the process of a debate in the British House of Commons, Foreign Secretary Bevin, harassed by the bankruptcy of the policies of the Labor Party Government in Germany, and goaded by Tory critics, revealed the true nature of capitalist diplomacy and bared the hypocritical character of the so-called democracy still "enjoyed" by the masses of the Western World.

Bevin was defending the Attlee government's policies in Germany which like its strikebreaking in the dockers' strike flow from its caretakership of British capitalism. Wincing under Tory jibes he blamed the apparent inconsistencies in his German policies on Wall Street and its policy of unconditional surrender adopted at Casablanca in 1943.

In the ensuing verbal battle, Bevin, who was Labor Minister in Churchill's war cabinet, accidentally revealed his true role in the cabinet and the role of all labor leaders who accept posts in capitalist governments, labor boards, and other sections of the state apparatus.

Labor Minister, cabinet minister, "co-ruler," Bevin revealed that the first time he heard about unconditional surrender for Germany, Japan and Italy was when he read it in the newspapers. He thereby exposed the fact that he was just a pawn under the heavy hand of the real ruler—the British capitalist class—utilized by them to create the fiction of national unity.

If Cabinet Minister Bevin only read it in the papers—then who committed the Allies to this policy of unconditional surrender? If the masses did not decide, if those who gave their lives, who suffered the bombing and destruction, who paid and continue to pay the cost in taxation; if they had no hand in this momentous decision, and cabinet minister Bevin had no say;

who made this fateful decision?

Wartime leader, Prime Minister, Tory Boss, Churchill rose in the house. "Our German policy," he said, "began with the declaration at Casablanca of unconditional surrender, on which the British Cabinet or any other cabinet never had a chance to say a word."

The unconditional surrender policy, greeted by Stalin, was adopted at Casablanca after a conference between President Roosevelt and Churchill when Roosevelt in an interview with the press announced it to the world. Roosevelt announced this policy without even consulting this old and trusted Tory representative of British capitalism. He told it to the press and Churchill nodded assent.

"What could I do?" said Churchill. "I was there on the spot and I had rapidly to consider whether our position in the world would justify me in not giving support to him."

"Our position in the world" which compelled Churchill to support this policy was the bankruptcy and absolute dependency of British capitalism on the most ruthless, the most cynical, the mightiest power the world has ever witnessed—American capitalism, and its suave, diabolically clever representative, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Here is the real ruler of the world — capitalism, and at the driver's seat, Wall Street. Not the masses, not parliaments, not cabinets, they are only tinsel, but individuals trusted by Big Business, who meet in secrecy, who conspire against the masses, who jockey for positions, and who make all the really important decisions.

Their evil conspiracy against the masses goes on night and day. U.S. Senator John Foster Dulles, who has played a prominent role in the secret councils of the war mongers and who took a leading part in the U.S. delegation to the recent Paris confab with the Kremlin, blurted out a top-drawer secret the other week. This is what he said to the Senate;

"At Paris last month there was discussion as to whether to accept at all the Soviet-proffered truce and to resume, even on a tentative basis, four power consultations. Some feared that any relaxation of East-West tension would bring a corresponding relaxation on the part of the people and that they should artificially be kept alarmed."

There you have it! All the time that Wall Street and St. Laurent have been howling about the need for measures against "foreign aggression," they have been carrying on a war of nerves against the people, keeping them "artificially alarmed."

Why? So that they can extort the millions of dollars required for their imperialist program of war on the Soviet Union to destroy what Stalin has not yet destroyed of the conquests of the Russian Revolution. So they could force ratification of the Atlantic Pact. So that they can continue their assault on civil rights. So that they can aid in the crushing of the independence movements in the colonial world.

Everything is being prepared. When asked last March whether it would be constitutionally necessary to call parliament to declare war, Prime Minister St. Laurent replied that "If we sign and ratify this pact (The Atlantic Pact) it will be with the resolve to carry out our obligations. Any Canadian government that felt that circumstances were such that it would not be meeting these obligations if it waited for parliament, might act immediately. There could be such circumstances that there could be war without a declaration of war."

Secret diplomacy, conspiracies, lies, pacts, alliances, all kinds of commitments, but none to the masses who will bear and suffer under all the commitments. The secret deals and alliances must be exposed. The truth, the real aims of the capitalists and their lackeys must be revealed. A struggle must be waged to take the war making power out of the hands of parliaments. The most important question of all must go before the people. Let the people decide on war. Let the people vote on war.

08-01-2

West Coast Leader Rips Coldwell's Policy

By ROSS DOWSON

The CCF electoral defeat has launched a wave of critical thinking within the ranks of the CCF and its 800,000 supporters. What about our program? What about our leadership? Where are we going?—are the pointed questions being asked by all serious workers who in an effort to solve the problems thrust upon them by decaying capitalism have joined or look upon the CCF as their party.

Even the staid, relatively passive, machine-controlled Ontario section is being buffeted by the turmoil, the soul searching that is taking place in the ranks of CCF supporters. The July 28 Ontario CCF News devotes considerable space to comments from defeated CCF candidates on "why we met defeat—and the road ahead." Even Ontario president Andrew Brewin joins in, implicitly attacking the electoral strategy of the Coldwell-Lewis leadership, with the declaration that "Never again should the CCF go into an election seeking to become merely the official opposition. We must have the psychology of being out to win." Others blame organizational inexperience, the capitalist slander campaign, lack of steady plugging of CCF ideas, insufficient staff, funds, etc.

There is no doubt that all of these were factors in the election debacle, but even combined they fall far short of the real answer. And if CCF workers content themselves with them they will only pave the road to even more widespread defeats as the time for action against war and the ugly trend towards capitalist totalitarianism here in Canada becomes shorter.

The only attempt to really strike at the roots of the problem, to analyse the various tendencies developing within the CCF, to come to grips with the fraudulent arguments advanced by the CCF national leadership, who are the agents of the defeat, comes from Colin Cameron of British Columbia. Cameron's searching Analysis of the Election Results and their lessons for the Canadian workers appeared in the July 6th issue of the B.C. CCF News.

What gives this biting analysis all the more weight is the fact that Cameron has long been prominent in national CCF circles, having been president of the B.C. section and a provincial M.P. from 1937 to 1945. He was elected along with Rodney Young to the National Council by the delegates at the last B.C. convention who also rejected the national leadership's support of the Atlantic Pact and battled to place repeal of the hated sales tax in the CCF program.



COLIN CAMERON

Cameron rips to shreds the Coldwell contention that the B.C. section's principled opposition to the Atlantic Pact and the "Red Flag" episode, picked up by the capitalist press, set off a chain reaction that led to the defeat of the CCF.

Not that this is by any means the most important question. We Trotskyists approach all questions from the point of view of political principle. It is necessary to tell the workers the truth about the nature of the class enemy and the course of their own struggles, regardless of the cost—in votes, elections, etc. If a correct position on the Atlantic Pact, and it is correct that the Atlantic Pact is a pact for war, cost every seat in the house—so be it. Let the Coldwell's and Lewis' count and gloat over their seats while civilization bursts into flames and destruction from an atomic war. For these traitorous leaders parliamentary seats with their pomp and their privilege are, instead of a means towards socialism, an end in themselves.

It is necessary to reject the Stalinists' and the Social Democrat Coldwell's opportunism which flows from contempt for and lack of confidence in the masses. It is necessary to stand with Marx, to understand that the only force that can liberate the workers from capitalist exploitation is the work-

ers themselves, courageously facing the truth, no matter at times how bitter, testing and forging the party and program, against the stream if necessary, confident that the truth will ultimately win.

Not only does Cameron defeat Coldwell and Lewis on their own grounds, in defiance of their scarcely veiled threats to expel and purge all non-conformists, but he probes deeply, almost, but not quite, to the very source of the infection—the reformist program of the CCF.

The printing of the Cameron article in the CCF News has roused heated opposition from the top CCF leaders who are accustomed to view the CCF press solely as a means to advance their own bureaucratically-arrived-at positions. The July 20 issue carries an attempted reply to Cameron penned by an old Coldwell war-horse and hardened parliamentary opportunist, Angus MacInnis.

MacInnis carries forward Coldwell's threats to the left wing by tarring all critics, all opponents of the CCF leadership, opponents of the CCF. He cries: "I do not intend to try and apportion blame for our failure . . . I shall leave that for our opponents and for any inside the CCF who are anxious to help them." He attempts to discredit and smear Cameron's completely valid argument that the CCF leadership is responsible for the defeats by sneering that "no one in B.C. has had more to do with shaping CCF policy since 1945 than Colin Cameron."

In an otherwise incredibly stupid and empty article, MacInnis, with some skill, befogs Cameron's attempt to establish the time, the beginning of the CCF degeneration from a "burning crusade" to a "mere contender for the job of administering the status quo." Cameron sets the date of the beginning of the degeneration at 1945, apparently solely on the basis that in his opinion this was an electoral high point in CCF history.

The truth is that the degeneration has taken place over the years, since the foundation of the CCF, and is contained in the reformist program adopted in 1933. This fact has been obscured and is only now becoming obvious as the CCF has government responsibility in Saskatchewan and approaches power in Ottawa. The falsity of the reformist program of the CCF leadership is becoming more obvious as the developing capitalist crisis corrodes and cuts away the very basis for the attainment of any extensive and lasting reforms. Reforms were won in previous

periods of capitalist growth and expansion. Today capitalism in its death agony is launching an all out assault on the civil rights and the living standards of the masses—not only prohibiting an accumulation of reforms and their transformation into socialism, as Coldwell dreams, but destroying those already won.

The real character of the CCF leadership, spawned by the Regina Manifesto, has been only brought out into the light and its scabious visage revealed, by the crisis of the capitalist state to which it is subservient. It is no longer a matter of talk and pretty resolutions. They now have to stand up and be counted. The mask has been torn away to reveal what was always there, in the fight over the Atlantic Pact, the sales tax the red baiting and now the elections.

The Cameron article marks an important step forward in the thinking and development of the thousands of CCFers who support its essential ideas. The next step is to move forward to the formation of a left wing, to unite these forces against the threatened purges and prohibition of criticism within the CCF. This unification and clarity can be attained only by the adoption of a program. First plank must be a principled opposition to the capitalist war preparations; no support to the war preparations, reject the Atlantic Pact, the military budget and capitalist conscription. The left wing must adopt a series of demands that meet the day to day needs of the workers and take them forward to the socialist understanding of their tasks. Such a program is to be found in the transitional demands advanced by the Revolutionary Workers Party in the pages of Labor Challenge.

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August, 1949



"There must be no police; no bureaucrats, who have no responsibility to the people, who stand over the people; no standing army, cut off from the people, but *only the people armed from head to foot*, united in the soviets — it is they who must run the government."

V. I. Lenin

Vatican Thought-control

On July 13 the Vatican issued a decree automatically excommunicating any member of the Catholic Church who joins, or so much as "shows favor" to, the Communist Party. If any measure was ever intended to make a mockery of freedom of thought and freedom of speech, this is certainly it.

Reading, publishing, disseminating, let alone writing for, the CP press likewise come under this sweeping ban. This is specifically stated in the text of the July 13 decree of the "Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office."

Cardinal Spellman confirmed that even those Catholics, such as journalists, teachers, lawyers and the like, who for professional reasons have to follow the Stalinist press, would have to obtain special permission from the "diocesan authorities."

The cloak of religion which the Catholic hierarchy invariably uses to cover up its arch-reactionary politics can hardly obscure the basic issues that are at stake here.

Far from defending their religious views, the Pope and his minions are seeking to deal a death-blow to the most elementary and most precious of all civil rights. The red-baiters and the witch-hunters, for their brazenness, have not dared as yet to go to such extremes as the Holy See.

Mussolini and Hitler and the Japanese Mikado tried to outlaw freedom of thought and of speech by means of "temporal powers." They brought into play naked physical terror—the jail, the whip, the executioner's block—in order to en-

force all the thought-control decrees they had written into their respective legal codes.

It has remained for the Vatican to attempt exactly the same thing by means of "spiritual powers." What the fascists and the Japanese militarists tried to impose through the use of brute force, the Pope and his hand-picked "Princes of the Church" seek to achieve by means of ideological terror.

The Vatican's dictate, invoked in the name and under the guise of religion, is more insidious and no less dangerous than the fascist onslaughts against civil liberties. Let all the super-patriots who are condemning thought-control in Eastern Europe speak up loudly now to tell us what they think about this effort to impose thought-control on a world-wide basis.

Why They Wrecked It

The American Communist (Stalinist) Party wrecked the Bill of Rights Conference held in New York, reported on page three of this issue. The Stalinists drove a knife into its very heart by killing the motion made by Professor Emerson and backed by the majority of the resolutions committee to defend the 18 Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act as well as the 12 Stalinists now on trial.

Why should the Stalinists deliberately wreck so promising a movement organized for their own defense? Obviously there must be overriding motives which drive them to crimes that discredit them not only before the general public but also among their most vigorous liberal defenders.

These motives in no way derive from any concern for the interests of the workers or their democratic rights. They sacrifice even the interests of the Stalinists' own self-defence. This ruinous policy on civil rights is dictated by the interests of the totalitarian tyranny in the Kremlin. Here is the real source of Stalinist crime against the civil rights movement.

Stalin and his retainers came to rule Soviet Russia by slandering, purging, jailing and murdering the entire generation of Bolshevik-heroes who led the Russian Revolution to victory. To prepare for the physical extermination of his genuinely Communist opponents, Stalin falsely accused them of being agents of one or another foreign power. The defendants at the Moscow frameup trials were labeled "agents of Hitler," with whom Stalin himself was later to conclude a deal.

The principal target of Stalin's frameup and murder machine was Leon Trotsky, who had exposed and fought the crimes of the Stalinist despots and their betrayal of the principles of socialism. As obedient instruments of Moscow, the Communist Parties throughout the world, (in Canada the Labor Progressive Party) are obliged to maintain this structure of lies and frameups against the Trotskyists.

To defend the rights of the Trotskyists would be tantamount to admitting that the Moscow trials were frameups and to exposing the Stalin regime as perpetrator of the most sinister crimes against the working class. That is why the Stalinists persist in defaming the Trotskyists as "agents of fascism" and in denying them civil rights.

The Kremlin and its agents can make, as they have made, deals with the most reactionary forces in the capitalist world, including Churchill, Hitler and Chiang Kai-shek. But the Stalinists will never compromise with their opponents from the left, least of all the Trotskyists who are their most consistent and irreconcilable adversaries.

They cannot tolerate the Trotskyists because we are the mortal enemies of both imperialism and Stalinism. Above all they fear criticism from the standpoint of socialism.

By their conduct at the Bill of Rights Conference the Stalinists proved that for them the defense of civil rights is not a matter of principle but of the Kremlin's convenience.

THE RWP IN ACTION

By SUSAN JOYCE

The several street corner meetings held by the Toronto branch of the RWP have proven to be very profitable. Besides selling many individual copies and subscriptions to **Labor Challenge** as well as pamphlets, which all spread our ideas, we have met many workers who are interested in our party. A considerable number of listeners recalled our civic election campaign and from this "opener" we were able to go on and speak about our platform, paper and activities.

On June 18th comrades Ross Dowson, Don Barclay and Barry Brent took the speaker's stand and spoke about the coming federal elections. They exposed the Tories and Liberals as boss parties and explained our position of critical support to the CCF. Quite a crowd gathered. We sold 49 copies of the paper and a copy of "The 1948 Manifesto of the Fourth International." Towards the end of the meeting a young Stalinist started heckling and our speakers capably answered all his questions to the satisfaction of everyone. This incident stimulated the audience and following it many interested workers carried on prolonged discussions with our comrades.

At the June 25th street corner meeting we again dealt with the issues in the coming federal elections. The meeting held the attention of workers throughout the evening. Our comrades sold two subscriptions and 70 copies of the paper. Several workers signed interest cards and indicated their eagerness for further information on our party platform and activities.

The subject on the July 16th meeting was "The analysis of the Federal Elections." The speakers exposed the Liberal Party's fake "pro-labour" program and scored the traitorous role of the CCF leadership who promoted the Liberal landslide and the CCF defeat with their policy of building up the Liberals as "the lesser evil". At this meeting the comrades sold 57 copies of the paper, two copies of "American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism" and two copies of "Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent the Third World War."

The Vancouver Branch is holding a very interesting class on "The History and Development of the Working Class Movement" every second and fourth Thursday at 8 p.m. at the Swedish Community Hall. The subject is of interest to all workers and we are sure our Vancouver readers will get a great deal of knowledge and pleasure from these classes.

The Toronto Branch completed a successful series of classes on

"The History and Lessons of the Russian Revolution" which were well attended. They have decided to begin a new series on "The Development of Socialist Thought" which will be given by Don Barclay starting Tuesday, August 9 and will continue for the next five Tuesday nights. The class will be held at 87 King St. W. at 8 p.m. and all Toronto and district readers are urged to attend.

In between union activities and other party work several branches put on a sub campaign which resulted in the addition of the fine total of 362 new subscribers to **Labor Challenge**. Quite a bit of time and effort was put into this campaign by the comrades all across the country. The final score is as follows:

Toronto	241
Vancouver	77
B.C. (outside Vancouver) ..	27
Windsor	9
Montreal	8

362

The sub campaign took place just prior to the Federal Elections. Our comrades found an enthusiastic reception by workers and housewives while out selling subs for our paper.

08 01-5

Vancouver Readers The History & Development of the Working Class Movement

EVERY 2nd & 4th THURSDAY
at 8 p.m.

SWEDISH COMMUNITY HALL
(Hastings at Clark Drive)

Windsor Readers

Contact LABOR CHALLENGE
BOX 25, WINDSOR, ONT.

Montreal Readers

Contact LA VERITE
Box 1482
MONTREAL, QUE.

Toronto Readers

Contact LABOR CHALLENGE
87 KING ST. W., ROOM 5
TORONTO 1, ONT.

MOVIE REVIEW

By PAUL SCHAPIRO

Hollywood has just discovered that Negroes are human beings. **Home of the Brave**, Walter White announces triumphantly, is "the first of at least eight Hollywood films which break with the traditional treatment of the Negro as menial or buffoon."

The making of these films reflects the concern of American imperialism over its self-created Negro problem: it is a cancer which drains imperialism's strength as it prepares for war, but, being too deep to be cut out by surgical action, it can only dab at it with the salve of words.

NOT USUAL HOLLYWOOD

Home of the Brave tells the story of a Negro soldier in World War II who has volunteered for a dangerous mission on a Pacific jungle island, the accumulated tensions within him which grow as he is baited by a Negro-hating member of the group, and his crack-up and psychiatric treat-

If **Home of the Brave** is honest in its presentation of chauvinism, however, its "message" obscures an understanding of the problem and its solution. Those who taunt you, the psychiatrist tells the Negro soldier, do so because they themselves feel inwardly insecure.

This explanation of chauvinism in terms of individual psychology is over-simplified and superficial. It does not differentiate between the contempt of the ruling class for oppressed nationalities, the sadistic bullying of lumpen-proletariat hoodlums and the prejudices of backward workers which are lost in the course of common struggles. Moreover, although it contains some truth, it raises more questions than it answers.

The furious racism of the petty bourgeoisie, which formed the mass base of the Nazi party, may be said to have expressed its feeling of insecurity, but what were the causes which produced this feeling of insecurity and why did its ex-

Stalinists Withdraw CSU From Congress Give Green-Light to Hall Gang and SIU

**Does This Herald
Split from TLC & CCL**

By PAUL KANE

On the very eve of the Trades and Labor Congress (AFL) convention the Stalinist leadership of the imperiled Canadian Seamen's Union which was suspended early in June by the Congress Executive, has announced its withdrawal from the congress. This withdrawal is a shocking sell-out by the Stalinists, not only of all the progressive forces that have opposed within the Congress the rise of an extreme right wing around Frank Hall, but of those seamen who with backs to the wall are still battling the shipping bosses.

Three months ago when the Executive of the TLC bowed down to the combined pressure of the shipping moguls, the Ottawa government and the AFL Green backed Hall forces and brutally suspended the desperate Seamen's Union, CSU President Harry Davis declared that:

"The congress action is more than a desertion and a betrayal of an affiliated union in the midst of a bitter struggle. It is a betrayal of the independence and autonomy of the Trades and Labor Congress, and a violation of the decision of the convention of the Trades Congress. . . . We call upon all affiliated unions who still believe in the policy of autonomy and independence of the Canadian labor movement to repudiate Mr. Bengough's action and to continue to support the striking seamen."

"Repudiate Bengough's action," "Fight for Canadian trade union autonomy at the coming convention," "Stand by the CSU," they cried. But through their withdrawal of the CSU from the Congress, a decision taken without consultation with the rank and file, the Stalinists have put the finishing touches on a job commenced by the bosses and the SIU. They have dealt a death blow to the CSU.

All their howling about battling Hall who, armed with the threat of AFL withdrawal, is trying to strangle TLC conventions in the cast iron embrace of a bloc voting system; all their yapping about fighting to preserve the right of unions to elect the leadership of their own choice, has proved to be so much wind. The Stalinists have deserted the battlefield at the zero hour.

In their statement to Bengough the CSU leadership attempts to justify their treachery with the fraudulent arguments that they withdrew the CSU because Canadian officials of the AFL unions who have been sympathetic to the CSU cause would have placed their jobs in jeopardy if they had voted against the expulsion of the CSU at the convention; because the convention will be packed by internationally financed right wing delegates, and last but not least, in the interest of the "unity" of

Manacled by RCMP - - - Sold Out By Stalinists



the congress and its affiliated unions.

What intrepid fighters for principle these Stalinists are! We will be outnumbered, so we won't put up a fight. Those who support us are liable to be penalized, so we won't put up a fight. A struggle would disrupt the unity of the Congress, a unity of reaction around red-baiting bureaucrat Frank Hall—so that we won't disrupt this rallying of reaction we won't put up a fight.

What is behind this Stalinist switch—a switch in policy which has been made only in the last month?

The seamen, who roused such inspiring demonstrations of solidarity in the world's ports, above all in England, have extensive support in the ranks of TLC-AFL unions—even after the executive suspended their union and promoted the slander that their struggle for life was not a bonafide strike but a political maneuver against Wall Street's Marshall Plan. The Vancouver, Winnipeg, Fort William Councils and the Quebec Federa-

tion, despite pressure from the executive withheld action until the convention. While it is doubtful if the fight for CSU reinstatement could have won out over Hall, who is now reinforced by Bengough's apparatus, the struggle would have at the very least lined up forces for future struggles that will take place under much more favorable conditions.

Perhaps the Stalinists have made another deal which, like the one they made last year, they hope will save them. So accustomed are the Stalinist leaders to thinking in terms of behind-the-door deals and compromises—so far removed have they become from methods of principled struggle—so cynical are they of the power of the masses—that trickery, deception, deals, are for them, as with the trade union bureaucracy, the normal method of work. Under the heat of the red-baiters and faced with the apathy of the rank and file who are disillusioned with their maneuvers, they may still hope by this cowardly retreat to hold on to a few posts and local treasuries. Articles

appearing in the Stalinist Tribune would lead one to believe that possibly they look to making another deal through Bengough. An idle dream. Bengough collapsed like a bag of hot air when Green really put the heat on. Even if he desired to conduct the struggle against Hall on a lower plane, it is probable that after this convention his forces will be so isolated that they would be unable to recognize any agreements regardless of how rotten they were.

The Stalinist officials conclude their statement to Bengough by saying that they hope to reoccupy a place in an "autonomous and democratic congress of labor." Yesterday this phrase could have been passed over unnoticed. But today it is possible that it is more than an empty remark.

In the U.S., where, as here, the right wing bureaucracy has tremendously strengthened its hold, hammers through the pro-war, pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet, government policy, suspends Stalinist dominated unions, etc., the Stalinists appear to be making preparations for a split and an adventurist attempt to set up their "own" union group independent of the main body of labor. In B.C. when their traitorous attempt to smash the IWA failed, the Stalinists set up their own little splinter woodworkers union (WIUC). Perhaps they are toying with the idea of linking up what is left of the CSU, the WIUC and pulling out of the CCL-CIO where they are hard pressed by the Mosher gang and are losing ground in the rank and file.

One thing is certain—that Stalinism plays no progressive role in the labor movement in any way whatsoever. Its actions in the CSU once again expose it to be a poisonous virus that must be wiped out so that a genuine opposition to the trade union bureaucracy can be formed.

RALLY THE CCF LEFT! CALL A CONFERENCE! FORGE A PROGRAM!

BY THE EDITORS

The rank and file support of the Colin Cameron article in the B.C. *CCF News*, reported in the last issue of *Labor Challenge*, is in danger of being dissipated. Unless the more conscious left wing elements in the CCF consolidate their forces this promising left wing is in danger of complete disillusionment.

The stunning election defeat of the CCF has brought out latent discontent and doubt into the pages of the CCF press. The many letters to the editors, a few of which are reproduced elsewhere on this page, all show the concern of the CCF membership over the endless concessions and retreats into which the present leadership has led the party.

There can be no doubt that conditions are ripe for the formation of a left wing not only in B.C. but on a nation-wide scale. But this promising situation will be lost unless something concrete is done to galvanize this movement, to give it organizational expression, and above all to give it a program capable of inspiring the worker elements in the CCF, to lead a real struggle for leadership both against the Coldwell-Lewis-MacInnis leadership of betrayals and defeats and against the main enemy, Canadian capitalism.

It is not enough to criticize the present leadership and to point to its black record. A conference of all conscious left wing elements in the B.C. CCF, where the situation is most ripe, must be called at once. It will be the duty of this conference to hammer out a program, not just a legislative program for the next election, but a program for the immediate period ahead.

A PRINCIPLED STAND ON WAR

First and foremost the conference must deal with the number one scourge and greatest destroyer of the working class, modern imperialist war. While opposition to the North Atlantic War Pact has been the crystallizing force of the left, there is a great deal of confusion on this question that must be cleared up. Many of the letters have denounced the North Atlantic Pact but still support the United Nations.

The UN was the instrument created by the victorious capitalist powers to conclude a robber peace and to stave off threatening revolutions which appeared all over Europe and Asia. Since October 1945 it has had many tests, and at all times acted as a cover for the bloody hand of imperialism.

The most dramatic exposure of its perfidious aims was its role in Indonesia, where its Good Offices Committee successfully deluded the Republican leaders in 1947 with treacherous "arbitration" almost to the very moment the Dutch launched their vicious attack, long prepared with the aid of several U.N. participants, including the U.S. and Canada. When the second "police action" horrified the world's masses last year, the U.N. waited till the imperialists had virtually overrun the whole country before finally issuing a cease-fire "order" which was meant to disarm the Republicans and which the Dutch violated with impunity.

The conference must take an uncompromising stand against all capitalist wars. This means rejecting any previous support to the UN or the North Atlantic Pact, both of which are agencies designed to drag the masses into another war.

Many of the workers whose letters have appeared in

the CCF press have raised the question of program. Several correspondents have exposed the fact that the Coldwell-Lewis program, which is the source of their opportunism, is not a socialist program at all but a liberal capitalist—a reformist program.

Those who have so far been heard in the *CCF News* are for a socialist program, a program that is based on the understanding that there can be no compromise with capitalism. The question that has perplexed many of the left-wingers, however, is: just what does a socialist program applied to the day-to-day problems confronting the workers look like?

THE NATURE OF THE PROGRAM

It was Leon Trotsky, the martyred leader of the Fourth International, who, armed with Marxian science, grappled with this problem as it is posed today and found the correct answer.

Trotsky said that it is necessary to defend all the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers. But side by side with this it is necessary to advance a system of transitional demands, "the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very base of the bourgeoisie." The task that this program sets itself is the systematic mobilization of the masses for the socialist revolution.

The realizability or unrealizability of the various aspects of the program must be in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.

The workers today are especially ripe for those transitional demands dealing with their immediate economic problems.

From the high cost of living, the main concern of the unions has shifted to layoffs and threatening mass unemployment, but as before the trade union bureaucracy and the CCF top brass have no program. But here it is easiest to link the immediate demands with the socialist solution.

The right to a job and a living is an elementary demand readily understood and grasped by the workers. But if enforced it would cut across the bosses' "right" of running industry as they see fit, in their own interests. For example, the workers demand no layoffs but a reduction in the work week with no reduction in take-home pay. Thus the available work is divided among all, but at the expense of the capitalist. As the resistance of the bosses increases, it becomes increasingly clear to the workers that the satisfaction of their most elementary needs is incompatible with the system of private property and production for profit.

If the bosses claim inability to pay for the cost of full employment, the workers must call for an opening of the books of the big corporations. The exposure of the business practices of the giant monopolies makes the demand of workers' control of the factories easily grasped by the masses.

There are unlimited possibilities for a left wing if it meets the challenge and hammers out a concrete program of action now. Unless a conference is called in the near future, this left development will surely go the way of similar ones that previously appeared in B.C.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the calling of a left wing conference will enlist the support of an impressive group of CCF'ers in B.C. and give confidence to similar tendencies in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and throughout the country.

09-01-3

TASKS BEFORE CCL-CIO RALLY

By JEAN LaPLANTE

A. R. Mosher, president of the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO), set what he desires to be the tone of the coming annual convention of the CCL in his Labor Day message. Mosher finds "the most significant development in the labor movement . . . a growing sense of maturity and responsibility." "It is noteworthy," he continues, "that the industrial picture in Canada at the present time is almost free from labor disputes. In my opinion this indicates that both labor and management are learning to live and work for the common good."

Mosher says this when 30 odd thousand members of the CCL have been turned down cold by the boss



A. R. MOSHER

loggers on the West Coast and threatened with wage cuts and longer hours. He says this when dozens of steel locals are getting the run-around by Ontario Labor Boards; and when rubber, packing, auto, electric, mining and the railroad unions are deadlocked with the bosses in wage negotiations. Mosher is trying to wish away

the real situation confronting the CCL membership. This is part of the preparation for next month's convention. This is how the soft handed well-heeled trade union leadership look at the situation. Everything is going along fine. The convention can listen to a batch of platitudinous speeches, pass some resolutions that will give more authority to the big boys, the delegates can have a good time and then toddle back home.

But those delegates who really want to represent their local, the rank and file, can only accept Mosher's and Doctor Conroy's prescription at their peril. Contrary to all promises the profit gougers are continuing to force the cost of living spiralling upwards, until today it has reached the highest point on record. Four years after the war that was supposed to bring the "Four Freedoms," the Canadian people face a growing depression.

Ottawa, in alliance with the U.S. Top Brass, is whipping up war scares and ransacking the public treasury. The top leadership of the CCL has increased its bureaucratic stranglehold on the unions by promoting a witch hunt, by bureaucratically suspending unions and leaders who do not conform

(Continued on Page 4)

CCL RALLY

(Continued from page 1)

with its own pro-war, pro-Marshall Plan line. The CCF, endorsed by the last convention as its political arm and supported by the organized strength of the congress went down to defeat in the last elections.

These are the issues confronting the CCL which the delegates must resolve if labor is to hold its own and make gains.

Several CCL-CIO unions are being torn apart by two sets of power-seeking bureaucrats—the Mosher machine and the Stalinists—each acting as the agent of outside alien forces. The membership must establish its right to be heard at this convention—it must re-establish the internal democracy that existed when the CIO was built. The union ranks must fight for the right to speak and act in their own interests, to assert their own initiative, to hold and discuss their own political views. They must build a leadership responsive to their will—and theirs alone.

The delegates must fight to weld the CCL unions once more into the mighty mass strength that confronted the bosses in the inspiring 1948 struggles. The battle for wage increases, security and health clauses has bogged down and is getting the run-around from the bosses and their government agents because there is no strategic plan involving the whole might of the thousands organized in the CCL. Unless this is done individual unions will be picked off one by one and go down to defeat.

Nothing has been done to meet the challenge of unemployment. It is up to organized labor to mobilize its forces in the fight for a shorter work week, for a sliding scale of hours with the same take-home pay—for vast public works, including housing, schools and hospitals to be financed by the millions now going for war preparations. Labor must demand unemployment insurance for the full duration of unemployment and equal to union wages.

The CCL has continued to endorse the CCF as its political arm. Through the CCF, through political action, the Congress can supplement its vast economic strength. The last federal election was a defeat for the CCF and thereby a defeat for the CCL and all labor. Those responsible for the defeat were the leaders of the CCF who propagated the self destroying idea that the Liberals (a party of capital) were better than the Tories. Thousands of workers thereupon did not vote CCF but voted Liberal as Coldwell urged. The CCL must enter more fully into the life of the CCF. It must demand that the terms of affiliation be completely revamped to make labor's voice the decisive voice in the CCF. Organized labor must determine the political program of the CCF and determine its leadership. Transform the CCF into a genuine labor party based on the unions!



"Soup kitchens in Chilliwack! Why they're making it too easy for those people. They just wont want to work now."

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ALL THIS COULD BE -- BUT

"The natural resources and the productive capacity of the U.S. could, in the year 2049, support a population of 300 million at a standard of living eight times as high as today's. Each American would spend eight times as much as he does today for food, 16 times for housing, 20 times for clothing, and 33 times for recreation and travel."

Do you hear that working men and women of Canada, whose man-hour productivity is second only to U.S. labor's and who live in a land which is as rich if not richer in national resources? And this isn't a page from an election campaign leaflet of the Revolutionary Workers Party, it isn't a fragment from a speech of a hard-headed socialist propagandist, the claim of a determined trade union militant—or if you like, the dream of a hazy-eyed philosopher. It is the considered opinion of Economist Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institute, one of the most thorough and conservative private research outfits on social and political problems on this continent.

Economist Moulton shows that the natural resources of this continent are sufficient, if not wasted, to provide everyone with this standard. There are two main conditions for its achievement, he says; 1) there must be increasing use of labor saving machinery, a more intelligent organization of production to cut down waste and duplication, 2) increasing mass purchasing power.

As production and total income increases, insufficient of this income goes to those whose consumption needs are greatest. "The greatest single problem that confronts us," he says, "is how to achieve such a distribution," that will increase the purchasing power of the masses. In answer to this, the decisive question, how we can achieve this realizable new world, Moulton, the capitalist scientist, can only dangle the wormy carrot of capitalism before our eyes.

All we have to have is a little faith, says Moulton, in the very system that is holding back productivity, that is the source of endless waste and duplication, that by force and violence deprives the masses of purchasing power that Moulton says is so essential, that has dragged civilization through depressions and within one generation through two world wars that devastated continents.

Worried about a depression? Moulton says they can't be prevented. Depressions, with their wrecked lives, ricket-ridden children, falling birth rate, suicides, are just part of the cost of the onward and upward drive of this system which anyone with half an eye can see is leading civilization to a war which may well mean that there won't be any world in the year 2049.

Yes, we see this future. It's realizable and long before 2049. And it's not capitalism but socialism. It's realizable but only through the destruction of the rule of capital over labor, by the institution of a Worker's and Farmer's government, expropriation of the means of production under workers' control, and production not for profit but for use.

THE TIME IS NOW

The test of ideas is in action. The true test of men and organizations is not in what they say about themselves but in how they conduct themselves. The Catholic hierarchy at the very time that it rants and raves against the curtailment and destruction of civil rights in the USSR and the Kremlin dominated buffer zones, in this country forbids Catholics to read the *Stalinist Pacific* and *Canadian Tribune* in fear of eternal damnation.

The Quebec church has not lifted a finger in protest of the curtailment of the religious rights of hundreds of Jehovah's Witnesses who are before Duplessis' police courts. It is silent on the imprisonment of several Baptist ministers for holding services in the streets of Val D'Or. By its actions in this country the Catholic hierarchy's protests against conditions in other countries are revealed to be a fraud and a deception. It not only condones and is in alliance with those who suppress the civil rights of others but itself conducts a tyrannous rule over millions.

Canadian trade union leaders, liberals, clerics, intellectuals, are beginning to view with alarm and concern the witch hunt that has been riding rough shod over civil rights in the United States. But what about here. Have they made a murmur of protest against the off-hand firing of Dr. George Hunter from the post of head of the bio-chemistry department at the University of Alberta... a post that he has held for 20 years and was taken from him on the charge that he "propagated political views." Could there be a more glaring case of curtailment of academic freedom? Have they protested the jailing of Baptist ministers and the Catholic hierarchy's ban on the *Tribune*?

They uttered no word of protest when the US government barred eight top rung Stalinist trade unionist for life, without charges or hearings, when several hundreds more have been prevented from entry. Only when the FBI's net snared some of their own has the trade union bureaucracy so much as made a protest. And what a feeble gesture at that.

Where will it all end? Emboldened by the silence, the indifference, yes, and even encouraged by the open support that comes from some quarters, in its drive on weaker and isolated minority groupings, the Big Business inspired campaign rolls on. Last week the influential *Montreal Star*, in a statement that has been chosen Editorial of the Week by the *Financial Post*, called for non-recognition of the CCF as a political party in the House of Commons, withdrawal of its opposition rights, recognition on committees, debates, group sitting in the house, etc.

Continued silence and indifference will lead to conditions that will find the forces of opposition to this Totalitarianization of Canada Drive so confused, divided and weakened that it will be too late. The time is now — to fight this ugly trend.

09-01-4

First Hand Report of Struggle Led by Bolivian Trotskyists

By Miguel—first authentic report by a participant in the events that convulsed Bolivia last May. New struggles have broken out in this crisis-racked country which will be covered in future issues of **LABOR CHALLENGE**.

09-01-5

We appeal to you to condemn before the working class conscience of the whole world, the manner in which this portion of Latin America has once again been soaked with the blood of the defenders of the proletariat who fell under the machine guns of the defenders of imperialist spoils. The echoes of the assassin's guns can still be heard in our mountains. The war cry of our comrades, who laid down their lives for a better future, ringing through space, appeals for worldwide solidarity.

These words bring to you the revolutionary greetings of those who are still alive to bear the banner of the Fourth International. We tell you that neither bullets nor unbridled capitalist exploitation will succeed in crushing the principles of Marxist-Leninist social justice, ingrained in the consciousness of the Bolivian working class. The massacre of Catavi is one more step to our final goal which historic laws have ordained for all. This is why it is necessary for you to know what is happening in this Yankee semi-colony.

In November 1948, the trade unions of the mining basins of Catavi, Llallagua and Siglo XX, affiliated to the Mining Federation of Bolivia, presented demands for an increase of wages and other economic ameliorations. The executive body of the Patino Mines refused to recognize the legal status of the unions and rejected all negotiations with them. The governmental authorities were incapable of taking a strong attitude in respect of the abrogation of the existing trade union rights and under the pressure of the bosses saw fit to represent them on the commission of conciliation and arbitration. The Patino Mines then replied with a threat to dismiss all workers. The workers made it known that they would occupy the mines and work them on their own in case of a lockout. The government, the obedient servant of the imperialists' interests, declared a state of emergency and started a campaign of repression under the pretext of democracy and obedience to law.

AT BAYONET POINT

The centers of work, railway stations, mining areas, were occupied by troops, and the workers were compelled to work at the point of the bayonet. But the workers were not daunted and did not go back on their demands. A wave of discontent spread over all the layers of workers. Meanwhile endless discussion was carried on with the bosses' representatives before the

commission of conciliation.

After waiting several months, all the mining trade unions (about 50 in number and with a membership of 100,000) through their threat to strike, obtained an award which gave them at least partial satisfaction. But the industry concerned could not accept this partial defeat. It refused to accept the arbitral award and made an appeal to the High Court in the hope of victory before this last bastion of reaction. In order to defeat this last maneuver the workers decided to strike again with the support of other elements of the population.

It was at this stage that the government, defending always the capitalist coffers, resorted to a dangerous expedient to get out of this difficult situation. It published a decree calling upon both parties to obey the decision of the commission. The miners resumed work, believing that the bosses would respect the decree; but it was not long before they realized that the bosses were not only not in a mood to accept the arbitral award but were not going to pay any heed to the decree.

The central committee of our party, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), sensing the preparations of the reaction to crush the working class organizations, addressed an appeal to the middle class oppositional parties (PIR and MNR) asking them to organize an anti-imperialist front with a revolutionary program, with a view to counteract and liquidate the imperialist offensive started by their Bolivian feudal-capitalist lackeys. The government, however, finally precipitated the conflict by proceeding against the militants of the POR on a national scale, in the hope of leaving the workers without revolutionary leadership.

GENERAL STRIKE

The miners exhausted all peaceful means for arriving at an agreement. The leaders of the Miners Trade Union Federation of Bolivia thought that the moment had come for launching a general strike. As soon as this was known the mining districts were occupied by new troops placed at the disposal of the Patino Mines. The famous decree

which was purported to call upon both parties to accept the arbitral award proved to be merely a maneuver to gain time for the dispatch of troops to the mining basins and thus prevent the general strike.

All police forces were set in motion for the round-up of the working class leaders. All the secretaries of the B.M.S.F. were arrested, as well as the parliamentary representatives of the miners, the leaders of the railway and textile workers, as well as the leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party. Some were thrown into concentration camps, others were forced to leave the country for Chile.

Amongst those struck by this repression are Guillermo Lora, POR militant and the parliamentary representative from Catavi; Juan Lechin, secretary of the executive of the B.M.S.F., leader of the miners and Senator from the Potosi department; Anibal Vargas, POR militant and parliamentary member for the mining areas of the province of South Chichas; Mario Torrez, secretary general of the miners and parliamentary representative from the Quilja province; Nelson Capillino Velazquez and Gervan Toranzos, POR militants and secretaries of the mining federation; Miguel Panto, POR militant and renowned painter. With them hundreds are in prison and concentration camps, established under the direct connivance of the Yankee ambassador.

Before this monstrous destruction of all constitutional guarantees in the name of which horrible provocations are being committed, the workers reacted by continued strike actions. The Army, directed by the Yankee military furnished by the American Embassy, started the massacre of the workers at Catavi, Llallagua, and Siglo XX, where officials of the Patino Mines

were taken as hostages, for the release of their leaders the trade union headquarters was surrounded by five regiments and the workers were riddled with bullets, resulting in the death of the two Yankee engineers and hundreds of workers. Women, children and old workers who demonstrated in the streets were massacred by the police. The workers resisted with sticks of dynamite. The government, lackeys of the capitalists, proclaimed martial law and summoned all classes from 19 to 50 years to military service.

Today a reign of terror exists throughout the country. Without press, without radio, in the midst of a permanent state of siege which has suppressed every kind of liberty, the workers are fighting the capitalist offensive heroically.

To believe the press is to believe that the victims of this terrible blood-bath are criminals. The death of two American engineers, caused by the bullets of the police, is presented as the "proof of the savagery of the miners." The fact that 1,200 victims fell under the bullets of the assassins and were buried in a common grave is passed over in silence. There is also complete silence in respect of 795 wounded.

Make it known, comrades, that in Bolivia 1,200 revolutionary workers have fallen for the grave crime of asking for justice for their class brothers. Tell it to the thousands of workers throughout the world that in Bolivia there are thousands of workers in the pits and mines suffering from cold and hunger. Tell them also that in Bolivia there are thousands of mothers, widows, and orphans, who, with uplifted hands, turn their eyes towards the five continents for world solidarity.

Bolivia, June 8, 1949.

(14) Sept. 1949

Is Tan Malaka Indonesian Leader Still Alive?

Information is appearing in the world press that leads us to hope that Tan Malaka, one of the founders and leaders of the revolutionary movement in Indonesia, is still alive. Two issues ago *Labor Challenge* reported that the Indonesian Republican government, which has capitulated to the Dutch imperialists for a token independence, announced on June 6 that it had foully murdered Tan Malaka in mid April of this year.

In the August 28 issue of the *Globe and Mail* there appears an article with a Batavia place line written by Patrick O'Donovan, the *London Observer's* Far East correspondent. It contains the following comment; "There are some Communists; they have a couple of battalions in Solo and some more in East and West Java. They are few—but they are there—ruthless and organized and well armed, technically in alliance with the Republic, and the only party in all Indonesia not ready to compromise on almost anything. . . . This is not a familiar communism. Its leader, Tan Malaka (who has been reported dead but is almost certainly alive), has renounced Moscow. More bitterly he has also renounced the West. . . ."

A catholic paper, *De Volkskrant*, of Amsterdam, published an article with a Batavia date line of July 15th. This article, dealing with the various left wing tendencies in Indonesia, contained the following; "Of the Partai Murba (the communist party which did not join the Stalinist insurrection because it thought that the time was not yet ripe for it), Sukarni happens to be the leader for the present. However the real leader of the party is Tan Malacca, who despite all rumours as to his death is still alive. It is certain someone resembling Tan Malacca was killed. But he was seen wandering freely somewhere in East Java. . . ."

Tan Malaka was one of the founders of the Indonesian Communist Party and its representative at congresses of the Communist International in Lenin's time. He rallied to the Trotskyist Left Opposition very early in its fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

09-01-6

Books and Pamphlets

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Official Organ, Revolutionary Workers Party



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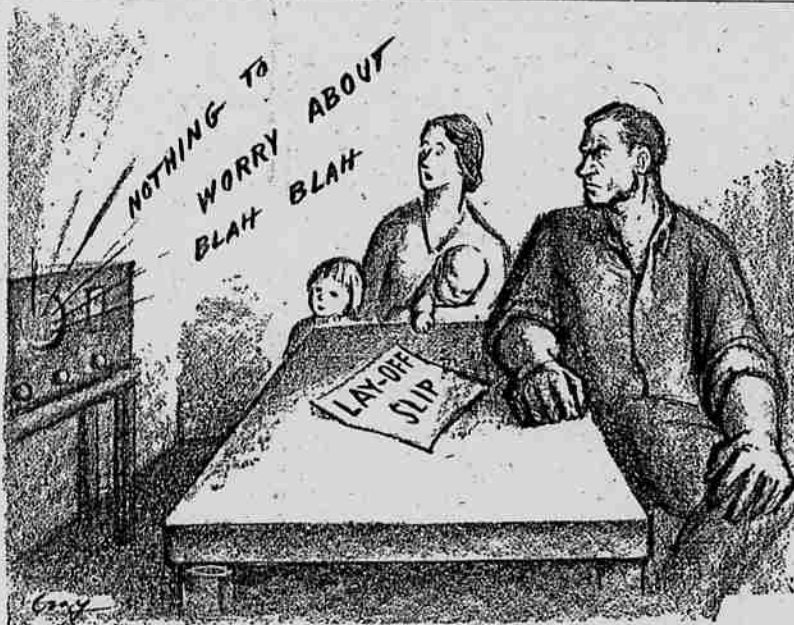
Vol. V, No. 10 (75)

TORONTO, OCTOBER, 1949



PRICE: 5 Cents

PRICES SKYROCKET; BOSSES PROFITEER THROUGH CANADIAN DOLLAR DEVALUATION



No Cause for Worry Says Ottawa Gov't

By JEAN LaPLANTE

Currency devaluation should bring long-run price reductions in Canada, Prime Minister St. Laurent told CCL convention delegates in Ottawa last week. In the long run, he declared, it should bring price reductions. "We should allow a little time for the changes to work themselves out before jumping to conclusions that any of us are going to be worse off," he cautioned.

Confronted with the fact that the number of unplaced jobseekers in September almost doubled over last year's figure, Minister of Labor Humphrey Mitchell said don't worry. "It is my opinion that we have very little to fear, and that we shall be able to maintain a high level of employment in Canada."

This "nothing to worry about," "keep smiling" dust has been joined by Trade Minister Howe's quivering falsetto voice who, when quizzed about the effects of the devaluation of the Canadian dollar, pleaded ignorance of just what effect it would have on Canadian markets and Canadian living standards.

But you don't have to be an economist to see the immediate results of the Washington financial talks and the Canadian dollar devaluation. All you have to do is add up your bills or look at your pay envelope when you come home from Saturday's shopping.

In the last three weeks coffee has risen 5 to 6 cents a pound. Gasoline and kerosene are up 1½ cents a gallon and fuel oil one cent a gallon. Coal, 90 per cent of which is imported from the U.S., has gone up \$1 to \$1.50 a ton.

In the last seven months Canadian imports from the U.S. totalled \$1,169,000,000. Most of this vast quantity of imported goods is composed of essentials in the living standards of the Canadian people. Through the devaluation of the dollar they will cost us 10 per cent more.

What about the devaluation of the British pound, is it not going to cancel out the effect of the dollar devaluation? Not by a long shot! When Cripps slashed the pound it looked like British goods in Canada would sell at a 30.5 per

cent reduction. The devaluation of the dollar revised this figure to a possible 23.6 per cent reduction. The price of British cars dropped about 12½ per cent, rubber and cocoa price-cuts have been piddling, and there has been no cut in the price of British textiles. British industrialists are pocketing the full possible benefits of the devaluation and are adjusting their prices to Canadian prices and to just keep within the market.

And don't think for a moment that only goods imported from the U.S. are going to skyrocket. The Canadian profit hogs are not sitting back selling their goods at old prices when imported goods go up 10 per cent and more. They are in the process of boosting their prices. One day after the devaluation of the Canadian dollar, Canadian iron and steel magnates advanced their prices 10 per cent. Domestic brass and copper took the same boost in order, says an inspired newspaper report, to keep Canadian metal prices "competitively in line" with American prices. "This price gouge will be felt all along the line. The prices of refrigerators, stoves, farm machinery and other metal goods will take a spiral.

In fact, Big Business' mouthpiece Financial Post, which usually talks turkey when its government lackeys talk out the side of their mouths, estimates "that by 1950 our wholesale price level will be 5 to 7 points higher than that of the U.S. at that time."

At home, devaluation means at the very least a 10 per cent rise in living costs. Abroad it will solve none of the problems confronting Canadian trade but will only increase the contradictions in the international market and result in increasing lay-offs and unemployment.

Canadian organized labor must immediately prepare its forces to launch a battle for extensive wage increases to defend its living standards. It must adopt and struggle for a program to combat layoffs and unemployment. Top planks in this program are: a shorter work week with no cut in take-home pay, unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment.

Leaders Force Through Poor Settlement on IWA

By R. BLAKE

In one of the most shameful exhibitions of weak-kneed capitulation on record the majority of the IWA leadership on the West Coast demoralized the membership and paved the way for acceptance of a settlement dictated by the bosses—a "settlement" which the spineless, frightened leadership of District No. 1 had already accepted and agreed to recommend to the various locals. Thus ended the lumberwork-

the interior belt and the elimination of the 40-hour week.

This was the jolt in the arm the rank and file needed. The will to fight to a finish for the full demands of the IWA grew by leaps and bounds; new members began to roll in. Organizational steps to prepare for possible strike action commenced—notably through the initiative of Local 1-217, Vancouver.

lation. After fiddling about with this procedure, the operators countered with a proposal to CUT

feature
article →

Vancouver CCF Club and RWP Discuss Problems Facing the Left

By PAUL KANE

On the evening of September 25 the Stanley Park CCF Club headquarters in Vancouver was packed. The crowd turned out to listen to a debate on the topic "Can the CCF Become the Vehicle for the Transition to Socialism." The

speakers were: Jack O'Brien of the Stanley Park Club, well known in leftist circles, and Reg Bullock of the Vancouver branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The atmosphere was comradely. The question period and discussion which followed the speakers' presentation of their ideas was very lively. Participants in the discussion included George Weaver, well known in the CCF for his column in the B.C. CCF News and Colin Cameron, member of the CCF National Council and former president of the B.C. section. Cameron became the unofficial spokesman of the opposition to the Coldwell leadership, that has been developing in the CCF on a nation-wide scale, through his searing attack on their "abandonment of socialist ideals and principles" that recently appeared in the B.C. CCF News. Excerpts from his statement were published in the August issue of Labor Challenge.

Comrade O'Brien was the first speaker. In his opening remarks he expressed the profound disturbance that the anti-working class actions of the Social Democratic parties in Europe are promoting in the minds of the more conscious elements in the CCF. "Certainly when we regard the history of Social Democracy we must feel uneasy. When we contemplate the events leading up to World Wars I and II our uneasiness increases and when we consider more recent happenings" (in Australia, England and Denmark—ed.) "our uneasiness increases and it seems a hopeless task to argue in the affirmative tonight."

He frankly admitted that "all Social Democratic parties are plagued with opportunists, careerists, and well intentioned but vague people. We know, too, that at crucial times most people react to their class position; so that under a Social Democratic regime when what appears to be an appropriate moment for revolutionary action we find the do-gooders recoiling in horror."

Despite all this, O'Brien argued; "a party must have a mass base to fulfil its historic function . . . the most fruitful ground most readily available for the propagation of socialism is in the CCF."

In his next remarks Comrade O'Brien revealed that he has a mistaken understanding of the Russian Revolution which he obviously believes was conducted by a putchist group which through sheer brilliance, without the support of the great masses of the Russian peoples, brought about the revolution. "Socialism cannot be imposed upon a people. . . . If a group or party subscribes to a theory of seizure of power by force with the idea of instituting beneficial legislation, when they get that power then I think the inevitable outcome will be the police state." O'Brien transfers his misconception of the role and nature

of the Bolshevik party to the Revolutionary Workers Party.

But the source of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution was not the nature of the Bolshevik Party which at the leadership of the masses took the power from a disintegrating capitalist class. It was in the social backwardness that the revolution inherited from Czarism; the failure of the revolution to spread its base because of the traitorous role of Social Democracy and the ebb of the revolutionary wave; the pressure of world capitalism without and restorationist elements within on Soviet economy; which together paved the way for Stalin and the destruction of the Bolshevik party as it was constructed by Lenin.

He continued "I am not going to claim that the CCF is a party that knows where it is going. For a party to lay claim to the distinction of having a clearly defined course . . . it must then necessarily admit to having an iron discipline." He appears to understand this equals domination of the party by a bureaucracy. O'Brien confuses discipline of a revolutionary party, that flows from unswerving adherence to the principles of scientific socialism and the interests of the working class, with bureaucracy.

But the "frantic flip-flops of the Stalinists," the bureaucracy that rules in the Labor Progressive

Party, doesn't flow from revolutionary discipline at the service of the workers at all. It flows from Buck's abject subservience to the Kremlin oligarchy which demands that he fly in the face of the needs of the Canadian working class and the membership of the LPP.

Just as he reveals his failure to comprehend the social origin of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the LPP bureaucracy, O'Brien revealed his lack of understanding of the social origin of the bureaucracy that is developing in the CCF. "It is true," he said, "that the CCF is tainted with this disease (bureaucratic domination) to a certain extent—so are all the trade unions on the North American continent."

The developing bureaucracy in the CCF of course is no strange inexplicable disease but is arising from the increasing pressure of Canadian capitalism on the Coldwell leadership to act as their agents within the ranks of labor. As the CCF leadership, capitulating to this pressure, gets more involved in Bay Street's war plans they are forced to turn on the CCF membership whose natural tendency is to oppose the capitalist war drive and its accompanying destruction of civil rights.

In the face of Coldwell's threats to the left, O'Brien claimed that the CCF was a special group within the family of Social Democratic parties "that no man or clique has ever dominated" and which despite Cameron's super-documented charges against the Coldwell leadership "spurns strategy based on political expediency."

O'Brien closed by maintaining

that "the CCF is the only possible vehicle during the transition period. It will probably change some of its characteristics . . . it might even change its name, but its basic set-up will remain, providing that enough Socialists are in the Movement and that they pound education and more education into the supporters of the Movement."

Comrade Bullock opened up with the observation that; "Essentially what the previous speaker has pleaded for is the transformation of the CCF into a revolutionary party. A very laudable goal to set for the left wing of the CCF and one must commend the previous speaker and his associates for their hopes. However, if they achieve their objective a tremendous transformation will have taken place both in the CCF and themselves and in the process the CCF as presently constituted will have become unrecognizable—in which case, assuming the transformation to have taken place, the CCF does not accomplish the transition to socialism but through the CCF has emerged the instrument or party which accomplishes the task. Thus the answer to the debate topic is clearly in favor of the negative."

"But between the conception of this task and its successful realization stand tremendous obstacles. The nature of these obstacles is mainly in the realm of political theory—clarity of understanding of basic principles and the conclusions from them and their application to life."

Pointing to the common path of betrayal of the workers' interests taken by Social Democratic Parties in Europe, whose policies the Coldwell leadership uncritically defends, and the sweeping opportunism of the CCF leadership, Comrade Bullock called for a serious study of its causes. "The cause is programmatic. It is the revision by Social Democracy of the principles of scientific socialism."

That is why we Trotskyists welcome and encourage this development of a left wing grouping in the CCF; your opposition to the Coldwell opportunism must lead you to a serious study of socialist principles and the program of the RWP.

After briefly explaining the basic principles of Marxism he pointed out that through their misconceptions of the nature of capitalist democracy and the capitalist state, social democracy rejects all the other aspects of socialist ideology. The Social Democratic leaders, commencing with the false belief that the capitalists will silently leave the scene when they win a parliamentary majority; through their proposal to liquidate the capitalist rule via the capitalist state, end up when this state is threatened by another state or class, as its last ditch defenders.

By sowing illusions about the real nature of the class struggle, Social Democracy weakens the workers, disorients the middle class, and paves the way for fascism.

If the left-wing is to succeed in its task it must have a clearly formulated program. Comrade Bullock thereupon developed various aspects of the program of the RWP.

Both speakers and many persons from the floor contributed important ideas to the discussion which for reasons of space we are unable to report.

10-01-2

LABOR CHALLENGE

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We firmly believe that one must not lie to the masses and that one must not deceive them with regards to the aims and methods of their own struggle. The social revolution is entirely based upon the growth of proletarian consciousness and on the faith of the proletariat in its own strength and in the Party which is leading it. One may play a double game with the enemies of the proletariat, but not with the proletariat itself.

Leon Trotsky.

A-BOMB MONOPOLY BROKEN

Truman's announcement that "an atomic explosion occurred in the USSR" has shattered the illusion that the next war would spill its frightfulness everywhere in the world but the U.S. and Canada. No longer can the scoundrels and madmen who rule this country offer the lure that they in alliance with American imperialism through their monopoly of the atomic bomb can destroy the Soviet Union and conquer the world through a "quick, cheap war."

The fact that the United States no longer controls the "secret of the A-bomb makes one thing certain; if the power drunk money lords of this continent plunge this country into war, the unimaginable ravages of atomic destruction will fall not only on the peoples of Russia and Europe, but on the teeming cities of America as well.

For the people of this continent too there will be NO PLACE TO HIDE and NO ULTIMATE VICTORY. The price of another imperialist war, in "victory" or defeat, can only be the death of millions of Canadians and Americans—death, perhaps, to North American civilization itself.

Truman's announcement heralds not a greater hope for peace but an intensification of the atomic arms race; greater and greater stockpiling of the instruments of mass slaughter; total militarization of the countries in the Atlantic Pact, an all-out witch hunt against free speech and free thought; repression of organized labor. These are the realities being hatched under cover of the palaver about "international control of atomic energy through the UN."

There are those who try to suck consolation from the fact that the Kremlin possesses the atom bomb. The Stalinists and some CCFers raise the will-o'-the-wisp of "disarmament" and "outlawing of atomic weapons." They are spreading the gospel that now that Stalin has the bomb, American imperialism "won't dare" to start a war. Muddle-headed pacifists are saying that the technology of war has reached such a potential horror that "reason must at last prevail." One and all—Stalinists, the CCF leaders, pacifists and imperialists alike—din in our ears; "The United Nations is our one and only hope." If that den of imperialists and political gangsters is our "only hope," then humanity is lost.

The "Hope" They Offer Us

For what is this "hope" that Washington and Ottawa have cooked up for us? They have declared they are going to press uncompromisingly for the Baruch plan of "international control of atomic energy"—that is, for the brazen proposal that the U.S. keep its stockpile of atom bombs while an "international commission" of the U.S.-controlled United Nations takes over ownership of all atomic energy plants and raw material sources and "supervises" atomic energy production—particularly in the U.S.S.R. If the Soviet Union refuses to be "supervised" by UN agents of American imperialism, this will be trumpeted as "proof" that the Kremlin has "aggressive designs" and that nothing remains but to prepare the atomic holocaust with good conscience.

We do not say that the rulers of America "want" war. They realize fully that an atomic war will not leave this country unscathed, that it will bring such devastation and exact such a fearsome cost that it may drag American economy down to irremediable ruin.

BUT THAT PROSPECT, IN THE END, WILL NOT STOP THEM. For capitalism cannot survive WITHOUT WAR. It is tottering on the brink of crisis and chaos. It is the prospect of internal decay and crisis, with its inevitable accompaniment of mass revolt, that the capitalists fear above all else. To stave off that fate, they will not hesitate to choose even the awesome risk of atomic war.

The existence of atomic weapons is not the cause of war. The atomic bomb is but the most fiendish part of the preparations for a war whose basic cause lies in the hopeless contradictions of outmoded, crisis-ridden world capitalism. Any pact that may be signed for "international control" or to "outlaw" the bomb is just a scrap of paper. The job is not to "outlaw the bomb"—but to OUTLAW CAPITALISM.

Socialism or Annihilation

This system of the exploitation of the many for the profits of the few strangles human progress. Its utter bankruptcy is proved by the very fact that it has taken the greatest means for the material uplift of human society—the utilization of atomic energy—and converted it exclusively into an instrument of mass suicide and murder.

Control of this new titanic force for good or evil is indeed the crucial question for all humanity. But it is not a question of whether this force is to be controlled through the imperialist-dominated United Nations. It is whether the international working class can wrest control of atomic energy away from the monopolists and profiteers.

Humankind is faced with a choice of life or death. Only world socialism—the international planned and co-operative economy of the free and equal—can snatch the atom bomb from the hands of the imperialist warmakers and destroyers. Truman's announcement of the atomic explosion in the U.S.S.R. is an alarm signal for the workers of Canada and the world—EITHER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM OR ATOMIC ANNIHILATION.

TITO-STALIN CLASH

WHY WORKERS IN ALL COUNTRIES MUST DEFEND YUGOSLAVIA

An Open Letter

To Labor Progressive Party Members

It is now more than a year since the Cominform provoked the split with Tito. From week to week, the attack against the Yugoslav leaders becomes more brutal. Beginning with ideological denunciation, the Cominform's campaign has degenerated into an economic blockade, diplomatic conflict and military pressure. "The Tito affair" is now the Number One concern of your leaders. The attacks against Tito in your press cover about as much space as the struggle against imperialism.

The Russian government has never been so abusive and arbitrary in its manner towards reactionary imperialist governments as it is towards Yugoslavia.

This behavior is justified by the

allegation that Tito has demonstrated a "hostile" attitude towards the USSR. But even if this accusation were correct, every communist would be duty-bound to ask this question: Did Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy have a "friendly" attitude to the USSR in the period before the war? Doesn't Franco Spain and Monarcho-Fascist Greece have a hostile attitude to the USSR? Nevertheless the USSR has never invoked an economic blockade against countries ruled by the most uncompromising enemies of the Soviet Union! Is one to think then that Stalin prefers fascist governments like those of Franco or Tsaldaris to governments controlled by Communist Parties which no longer completely obey his orders?

IMPERIALISM PROFITS FROM THE CONFLICT

Since the Cominform broke with Tito, the imperialist governments have followed the developments of relations between Belgrade and Moscow with sustained interest. They have not failed to derive the maximum benefit from the new situation in the Balkans. Faced with the threat of economic strangulation by the blockade ordered by Stalin, the Yugoslav government has been compelled to orientate its foreign trade towards the "west."

Imperialism has succeeded in inflicting a serious defeat on the Greek partisans because the Kremlin preferred to sidetrack their struggle against the monarcho-fascists in Athens with the object of utilizing them against Yugoslavia. Skillfully exploiting the mounting conflicts in the Balkans, imperialism is now plotting to overthrow the Albanian government

and put its own agents in power.

But it is in the field of propaganda, thanks to the Yugoslav affair, that imperialism has made the greatest gains. The Russian government and the governments of Eastern Europe have been shouting their love of peace from the housetops. They have organized conferences for peace all over the world while at the same time they have launched an unrestrained campaign against a small nation which has been devastated by the war and is incapable of "threatening" anyone, let alone the USSR, the outstanding military power on the European continent. The campaign against Yugoslavia is completely undermining the propaganda campaign for peace organized by the Communist Parties all over the world. It is grist to the mill of imperialist propaganda against the so-called "Russian aggressor."

HAS TITO BETRAYED THE USSR?

The brutal attack against Yugoslavia has aroused a growing uneasiness in all the communist parties in the world about the correctness of the policy pursued by the rulers of the USSR. The latter have tried by every means at their command to shift the responsibility for the present situation on the Yugoslav leaders. Stalin has compelled all of the communist parties to join in his slander campaign against Yugoslavia.

Eulogized only yesterday as the staunchest pillar of the "new democracy," as "the most loyal friend of the USSR," "the hero of the partisan war," Tito has been transformed in less than a year into an "abject traitor," a "vile lackey of American imperialism," a "desperate fascist beast." Is there then so little distance between the "people's democracy" and fascism that an entire leadership of a Communist Party can cover the ground in several months? Don't these slanders add new weight to the propaganda of the imperialists which is attempting to convince public opinion that fascism and communism are the same thing?

Placing his whole propaganda apparatus at the service of a bad cause, Stalin pours out a torrent of lies daily against the Yugoslav leaders through all the communist papers. They systematically falsify the facts and make it impossible for you to judge or check this enormous mass of lying statements. They systematically ignore all the denials of the Yugoslav Communist Party relying on your devotion to the USSR and communism to make you believe that so long a list of crimes attributed to Tito could not be invented out of thin air.

Take one of these charges and judge it objectively:

Tito trades with the capitalists, he concludes trade agreements with England, etc., he requests loans from the Americans and they are granted.

But what "people's democracy" does not trade with the capitalists? Could it be Poland whose foreign trade in 1948 with the capitalist world rose to more than half of its total trade? Or perhaps Czechoslovakia which showed a similar development in the same period?

And what "people's democracy" has not requested loans from the imperialists, the Americans and the International Bank? Didn't Poland receive 90 million dollars in 1946 from the United States and its banks for the purchase of war surplus material? Didn't it carry on negotiations for a loan of 58 million dollars from the International Bank in Washington? Didn't Czechoslovakia receive 50 million dollars in 1946 from the United States Government for the purchase of war surplus? Didn't it solicit a loan from the same bank in 1948 and request a new credit of 20 million dollars from the In-

ternational Monetary Fund in 1949? Hasn't the USSR itself sought to obtain a billion dollar loan from America?

Trading with the capitalists and utilizing their loans for the development of productive forces is a normal and indispensable procedure, one which Lenin and the Bolsheviks made use of after the October Revolution.

But, it is objected, isn't Tito selling the Americans "strategic" products like chrome, copper and zinc which will be utilized for war?

These metals are part of the essential exports of Yugoslavia. They are the only products which interest the United States which grants Yugoslavia in exchange the dollars necessary for the purchase of needed machinery.

Because of the tight economic blockade erected against it by the USSR and the "peoples democracies," Yugoslavia has been obliged to shift its trade towards the west for the purpose of procuring this needed machinery. And why has the USSR itself been exporting its chrome and manganese to the United States up to the beginning of this year? These exports have been discontinued only as a retaliatory measure to the blockade by the United States against the USSR and the "peoples democracies."

But, the argument continues, the imperialists are granting Yugoslavia merchandise and capital which they deny the USSR and the "peoples democracies."

Naturally imperialism is exploiting the Moscow-Belgrade differences for its own ends and wants to draw Yugoslavia little by little into the western orbit. The Yugoslav leaders in turn can very well profit from the inclination of the American capitalists to grant them credits and goods which can be used to develop and consolidate Yugoslavia's economy? What is treacherous about that?

Another charge: Tito has betrayed the struggle of the Greek people by closing the frontier, by stabbing the "democratic army" in the back, by permitting Greek monarcho-fascists to operate out of Yugoslav territory.

It is true that Tito has been obliged to close the frontier under pressure of imperialism which is exploiting his isolation for which the USSR is responsible. But it is false to say that he has permitted monarcho-fascists to enter Yugoslav territory or that he has stabbed the "democratic Greek Army" in the back. This is proved by innumerable testimonials of soldiers and officers of the Greek democratic army who were pursued by

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WHY STALIN WANTS TO DESTROY TITO

THE WORLD WORKING CLASS MUST DEFEND YUGOSLAVIA

(Continued from page 1)

monarcho-fascists and took refuge on Yugoslav territory after the recent battles at Vitsi and Grammos.

The Yugoslav press has given extensive publicity to the reception given to Greek soldiers and civilians in Yugoslavia, citing figures, statements, names of soldiers and officers as well as their units.

Why hasn't the press of the communist parties mentioned these facts, figures, names, declarations, and why hasn't it tried to refute them specifically? They prefer to ignore these facts and to reiterate their slanders. But in any case even if Tito had betrayed by closing the frontier, why did Hodja's Albanian government and Kolarov's Bulgaria declare some time later, while war was raging in Greece, that their frontiers would be closed and that monarcho-fascists as well as Greek democrats who entered

their territory would be disarmed and interned in concentration camps?

Yes, the struggle of the Greek people has been betrayed! It has been betrayed by Stalin himself who forced the Greek Communist Party into a coalition with the bourgeoisie in 1943 at a time when the Communist Party controlled Greece and the bourgeoisie was nothing but a shadow. It was Stalin who ordered the disarming of the partisans, it is he who decapitated the leadership of the "democratic army" because Markos did not want to become the tool of Stalin's struggle with Tito. It was Stalin who sidetracked the "democratic army" from the struggle against the monarcho-fascists by attempting to hurl them primarily against the Yugoslav leaders thus demoralizing and disorienting the ranks of the Greek partisans.

THE INTERNAL REGIME IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Cominform also accuses the Yugoslav leaders of having introduced a reign of terror in the country and in the Communist Party. It is true that many supporters of the Cominform have been imprisoned by the Yugoslav secret police. It is also true that an implacable repression is now exercised against the enemies of the present regime. But who are the accusers? What right has the Bulgarian Communist press to complain of such a situation when the Bulgarian secret police have imprisoned Traicho Kostov, wartime leader of the Bulgarian CP as well as thousands of communist militants, anarchists, Trotskyists, socialists and syndicalists. What rights has the Albanian communist press to complain of the police methods of Tito when the Albanian government out of obedience to the Cominform recently assassinated Koci Daxe and the majority of the leaders of the Albanian Communist Party? What right does Stalin have to complain of the Titoist "secret police" when for 25 years he has used his all-powerful GPU to terrorize the Russian workers, the members of the Bolshevik Party, the entire Communist International? How can Stalin protest against the imprisonment of anti-Titoist elements in Yugoslavia when he himself has had imprisoned or assassinated the entire old guard of the Russian Bolshevik Party, all the leading cadres of the Communist International, all the heroes of the October Revolution and the civil war? Who is the instigator of the infamous Moscow trials which are now being duplicated in Hungary and elsewhere?

And what remains of proletarian democracy in the trade unions and Soviets in the USSR? Is it possible to criticize the line of the leadership, to refer to past mistakes and to the zig-zags anywhere in the party, the trade unions or in the

soviets in Russia or in any of the "peoples democracies"?

Is it possible for you to criticize the line in your own party? For example, is it possible on a concrete question like Yugoslavia to demand that the party merely make

available for you the arguments, texts and documents of the Yugoslav Communist Party which heads an entire country and only yesterday was considered a brother party?

In Yugoslavia, Tito has published the resolution of the Cominform which condemned him as well as all the notes Moscow has sent him in the recent period. But cite one solitary example of objective reporting in the Communist Party press on what the Yugoslav leaders say and write in their own defense! For Stalin to accuse Tito of bureaucracy and anti-democratic procedure betrays an indescribable cynicism.

In such a pile of calumnies and lies there is always one which suddenly clarifies the character of the whole system and, in one blow, reveals its absurdity. Recently the anti-Titoist liars were caught with their hand in the bag. On Thursday, Sept. 8, "L'Humanite," organ of the French Communist Party, published in its front page an article dealing with the anti-communist, "fascist" repression in Yugoslavia.

On the night of September 7 copies of "Knjizevne Novine," the organ of the Union of Yugoslav Writers, were seized. The official version given by the Yugoslav Government was that one of the articles was a "misinterpretation of the foreign policy of Yugoslavia." L'Humanite claimed that the paper had been seized for it "did not glorify strongly enough the anti-Russian policy of Tito." That was a "decisive" evidence of the anti-Soviet and police regime of the Titoists.



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The truth of the matter is that the paper had published an article "inconsequent and seditious in tone towards the Soviet Union," said the official communication released by the Yugoslav Government, Sept. 9, which condemned the article.

But "L'Humanite" had to lie to the communist workers because it could not have been able to "prove" the "definite going over of fascist Tito in the imperialist camp" through . . . the suppression of an article attacking the prestige of the USSR.

WHY STALIN ATTACKS YUGOSLAVIA

Today under the pressure of the campaign unleashed against them by the Russian leaders, the leadership of the Yugoslav CP have been obliged to recognize that this is not merely a conflict with the Cominform or the "peoples democracies." They are obliged to recognize that the Cominform and the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe play the role of carrying out the orders of the Russian government and Stalin. It is Stalin

himself who unleashed the battle against Tito; he himself is responsible for the inordinate violence of the slander campaign, for the perfidious methods of struggle, for the treacherous economic blockade.

Why such rancor? Why such rage? Because Tito and the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party have dared to call into question the principle on which the power and ideology of Stalinism is

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based: the absolute submission of all the Communist Parties of the world to the orders of the Kremlin.

Trading with Imperialism is not Tito's real crime: it is having dared to ask that Yugoslavia be treated on equal footing with the leaders of the Russian CP.

The principle of "equality" between communist parties and between the "peoples democracies," which is now defended by the Yugoslav leaders against the Kremlin—which has brought down upon them the accusation of being "rabid bourgeois nationalists"—has a very precise meaning for all the countries of Eastern Europe. In all these countries upon the conclusion of the war Stalin decapitated the revolutionary movement of the masses and installed subservient governments for the purpose of exploiting these countries for the benefit of the Kremlin.

The methods of extortions employed by the Russian leaders in these countries has caused discontent and protest among the laboring masses. It has set into motion violently hostile movements toward Russia. Those leaders of the CP who wanted to maintain a real mass base were obliged to take this situation into consideration and had their misgivings about the policy of the Kremlin. The ferocity of Stalin's struggle against Tito reflects his fear that the communist workers in the other "peoples democracies" who are opposed to Stalin's despotic rule over their parties and their countries will join in Yugoslavia's revolt.

The principle of "equality" between communist parties and between "peoples democracies" and the USSR which the Yugoslavs are defending contradicts the fundamental line of 25 years of Stalinist policy: submit blindly and unconditionally, subordinate the interests of the Communist Parties of the

entire world and the interests of the workers in all countries to the interests of the Kremlin.

Tito himself, educated in the Stalinist school, did not question this line when it contributed in the past to the terrible defeats suffered by the world proletariat. It is only under the influence of his recent experiences that he has been led to formulate a criticism of Stalinist policy.

But this criticism has already led the workers and leaders of the Yugoslav CP to pose a new question: If it is true that Stalin is prepared to crush an entire country for the sole reason that it refuses to blindly submit to the orders of the Kremlin, was he not prepared in the past to betray the interests of the workers of various countries when they did not completely coincide with his own?

Who is responsible for the terrible defeats of the Greek communist movement despite the fact that in 1943-44 they were in control of almost the entire country?

Who ordered the French workers and partisans to give up their arms to de Gaulle in 1944?

Who betrayed the magnificent movement of revolt in India in August 1942?

Who urged the American workers to give up the right to strike and to collaborate with Wall Street during the war?

Who ordered the Communist Party in the U.S. to abandon the struggle for Negro equality during the war?

Who appealed to the workers in the colonies and semi-colonial countries to collaborate with the very imperialism which exploits them?

One cannot understand the reasons for the Stalinist attack against Yugoslavia without reexamining the entire Stalinist policy for 25 years, a policy which has brought such terrible defeats on the international working class movement.

ones who suppressed and assassinated the genuine Russian communists, the entire Leninist old guard. They are the ones who poisoned the communist movement, the effects of which are now visible in the campaign against Tito.

From 1923, the Trotskyists have recognized, in line with the last warnings of Lenin, the terrible threat which this criminal bureaucracy represents for the USSR and for communism. We have denounced it unceasingly. This explains Stalin's mortal hatred of Trotskyism. He has slandered and persecuted us a thousand times more than he now slanders and persecutes Tito's supporters. Unfortunately our predictions were only too well confirmed. To avoid

future defeats, to prepare and assure the victory over capitalism and the free development of humanity to socialism, the Trotskyists have constituted their own parties throughout the world. They represent the real communist program, the program of Lenin and of the October Revolution.

If we now consider it our duty to unreservedly defend Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Communist Party against the slanderous attacks and the criminal maneuvers of the Russian bureaucracy, it is not because we consider Tito a "Trotskyist."

We have numerous criticisms of an economic and social nature of Tito's policy in Yugoslavia. We remain unalterably opposed to the police methods which Tito has borrowed from Stalin. Ideologically the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have only taken the first step on the road to a critical examination of the false Stalinist position, and towards a return to Leninism.

We have openly declared this proposition and we reiterate it: If the leaders of the Yugoslav CP do not base themselves on the aid which can be provided by the international proletariat; if they do not take the road of proletarian democracy in Yugoslavia itself; if they do not return to the policy of world proletarian revolution by breaking with all the Stalinist conceptions—then Yugoslavia, caught between the Stalinist hammer and imperialist anvil will wind up by succumbing to one of its two

powerful enemies.

But regardless of our opinions on the past and present of the leaders of the Yugoslav CP, regardless of all our criticisms, we consider it our duty to defend the right of discussion and criticism for all tendencies in the workers movement. We consider it our duty to support the struggle of the Yugoslav people for self-determination, to fight against all attempts by the Stalin bureaucracy to reduce them to the status of a satellite.

Today, while the Stalinist press lyingly accuses the Trotskyists "of being in the service of American Imperialism," the Socialist Workers Party (the American Trotskyists) tirelessly fights against the Truman administration's repression of the American Communist Party and the trial of its leaders.

These Stalinist leaders are the very same persons who all during the war supported the American government's repression of the Trotskyists. We prove in this way, that we take the struggle for working class democracy seriously, not only in words but in deeds.

The defense of Yugoslavia is now the task of all communists who want to prevent the gangrene of slander and gangsterism from destroying the worker's movement. It is the task of all workers who understand that there can be no progress for the worker's movement unless it completely reestablishes the principle of worker's democracy and the right of free discussion and criticism.

MEMBERS OF THE L.P.P.

We don't ask that you believe our word. Go through your own experience.

Insist that they give you all the documents published by the Yugoslav CP to defend itself against the attacks of the Cominform!

Insist that a free discussion be opened in all your organizations concerning the Yugoslav affair!

Support all attempts made by revolutionary organizations to clarify the Yugoslav question. Attend the debates that revolutionists will organize in every country concerning this question. Ask that your representatives give their viewpoint. Insist on the sending to Yugoslavia of workers' delegations democratically elected. Insist that Yugoslav workers' delegations may give you their viewpoint in all freedom.

Demand that the blockade against Yugoslavia, which is nothing but a deliberate attempt to force Yugoslavia into the imperialist camp, be abolished immediately.

Fight for the re-establishment of

full freedom of expression in all your organizations.

AGAINST decadent capitalism, the cause of war and fascism!

AGAINST the Stalinist bureaucracy which has dragged the flag of communism in so many crimes.

FOR the defense of Yugoslavia against the campaign of calumny of the Kremlin and the Cominform.

FOR the defense of the USSR against imperialism.

FOR the overthrow of the Stalinist dictatorship and the re-establishment of real proletarian democracy!

FOR the world communist revolution!

The International Secretariat of the Fourth International September, 1949.

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STALIN NOT A COMMUNIST

The cause of Stalin is not the cause of socialism. The cause of Stalin is not the cause of the Russian Revolution. It is the cause of the usurpers of the revolution, of a rapacious and despotic caste of bureaucrats and parasitic functionaries who live off the great achievements of the Russian workers.

It is not the Russian workers who are opposed to the Yugoslav workers because of their demand for equal treatment. Those responsible are the thousands of bureaucrats who live like parasites on the nationalized Russian property, reducing the masses to a miserable standard of living. It is this bureaucracy which for two decades has betrayed the international revolution. They are the

These four, with Lenin, were the representatives of the Russian Communist Party to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, 1919-24—all were framed and murdered by Stalin.



LEON TROTSKY

president of the first Soviet in St. Petersburg in 1905, organizer and leader of the insurrection of October, 1917, organizer of the Red Army, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party from 1917 until his expulsion by the Stalinist reaction in 1928, founder of the Fourth International, murdered in Mexico, 1940, by a Stalinist assassin.



KARL RADEK

joined the Polish revolutionary movement in 1902, collaborated with Rosa Luxemburg in the Second International, one of the most authoritative spokesmen of Lenin's Third International, joined with Trotsky to fight Stalinist reaction in 1923, capitulated in 1929, until his arrest and murder at the hands of Stalin's GPU, editor of the official Soviet Government organ IZVESTIA.



NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

Old Bolshevik, Lenin named him "the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party," one of the leaders of the Moscow uprising in 1917, member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau for years, chairman of the Comintern from 1925-29, editor of PRAVDA, murdered by Stalin as an "agent of imperialism."



GEORGY ZINOVIEV

founder of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin's most intimate collaborator in Swiss exile before and during World War I, chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, member of the Bolshevik Central Committee since 1907, first chairman of the Communist International (on Lenin's motion) and occupant of that post until 1925. Framed and murdered by Stalin as "a mad fascist dog."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES STATEMENT CONDEMNING FRAME-UP TRIALS IN HUNGARY

PARIS, Sept. 24.—The International Secretariat of the Fourth International today released through Pierre Frank the following statement on the Budapest frameup trial:

A new counter-revolutionary crime has just been perpetrated on orders from the Kremlin.

Several defendants at the Budapest trial, accused of being "Trotskyists in the service of espionage agencies of imperialism," have been condemned to death. A few months earlier, on the same monstrous charge, a "trial" in Tirana resulted in the execution of several leaders of the Communist Party of Albania, among them its wartime secretary Koci Dodjli.

The Secretariat of the Fourth International formally declares that none of those condemned at Budapest belonged to an organization affiliated to the Fourth Inter-

national. Alongside of Stalinists of long standing, those prosecuted at the Budapest trial included ex-officers and police officials of the Horthy regime and professional GPU provocateurs. The indictment, the trial technique, the "confessions" of the accused who vie with one another in self-accusations of crimes consisting of alleged intentions and directives which are never actually carried out or even undertaken — all these are reminiscent of the Moscow Trials which were used by Stalin to exterminate the Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. These trials were directed by the same people who are staging the Budapest trial, as is being recognized by the leaders of the Yugoslav CP.

World public opinion, however, shocked it may be once again at the procedure of these trials (which

lead to confessions of imaginary and absolutely improbable and fantastic crimes), can no longer have any doubt that they are pure fabrications staged for political ends. The Moscow Trials were used by the Kremlin bureaucracy to eliminate all potential revolutionary opposition inside the Russian Bolshevik Party and to prepare the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Similarly, the Budapest trial and those which will be staged in the other capitals of Eastern Europe are designed to intensify the struggle against Yugoslavia and to smash all possible opposition in the Communist Parties of these countries to the Kremlin's policy of plunder and oppression.

This opposition has received powerful reinforcement from the courageous struggle of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia since its break with the Cominform.

Labor Challenge Opens \$1,500 Drive

By ROSS DOWSON

Labor Challenge needs your help. The editors need your help to the tune of \$1,500. That sounds like a lot of money but if every reader of this column, if everyone of you who thinks like we do that Labor Challenge is playing an important role now in the Canadian labor movement and is destined to play an even more vital one—if every one of you digs down deep in his pocket and sends in as much as he possibly can we will gather together this sum of money.

We did not set this objective of \$1,500. The hard facts of life have set it — the photo-engraver, the printer, the landlord, etc.

We make this demand on you and your slim pocketbook without any embarrassment whatsoever. We know that the bulk of you cannot really afford to kick into this drive. Many of you have suffered layoffs, have had your rent jacked up again, need a new suit or dress. But that is just why you cannot afford to fail to come to the aid of our press. This is your paper

and it is dedicated to the struggle for your interests.

No one else is going to help us keep the presses rolling but you and others like you. We are proud that Labor Challenge is a worker's paper and pulls no punches — but for that very reason we have no place to turn to for aid except to you.

Some of you can already boast that some part of Labor Challenge is yours and exists through the sweat of your labor. We want to and must broaden this splendid company of Labor Challenge supporters.

And it is a proud and honourable company of men and women. As yet it is too small. But it is vast and all encompassing in its objective and is armed with the most powerful weapon yet devised — scientific socialism. That is why it struggles on in confidence. Its objective is the greatest objective that men have ever consciously set themselves — the cultural and social liberation of society —

the freeing of mankind from capitalist wars and depressions and the construction of a free socialist world of plenty.

It's a proud and defiant company. Its forefathers are: the Parisian sansculottes who aided Jean Paul Marat's "L'Ami du Peuple" to sound the death knell of reactionary feudalism; they are also the Russian workers and peasants who aided Lenin and the Bolsheviks to publish Iskra, the spark that shaped the forces that opened up for a flash the unlimited horizons of the future society.

Won't you join the ranks of the supporters of the socialist press, of Labor Challenge? The ticket of admission is a contribution to the war-chest of Labor Challenge. The badge of honour is the knowledge that you have answered this call to the best of your ability.

Send your contribution in now to:
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For Action Against Rent Hoist

Organize Committees And Protest Rallies

If everything comes off as the profit fat and covetous real estate mortgage trusts, landlords and their Ottawa flunkies have plotted, 4,000-000 Canadians living in rented rooms, flats, apartments, and houses, are going to get a shocking Christmas present.

Their jam-packed flats and apartments, their crowded houses and dingy little rooms, already costing exorbitant rents are going to cost them 20 to 25 per cent more. The hoist is to go into effect on December 15th. Those who rent on a weekly basis will either pay up or get tossed out the day before Christmas.

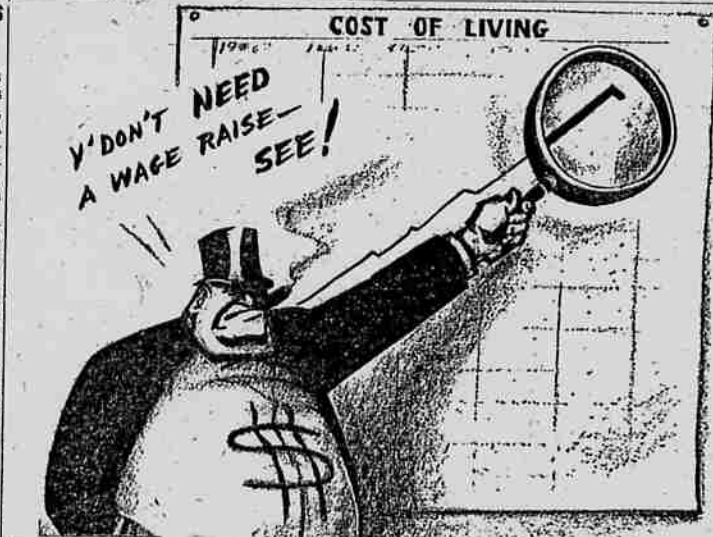
If you think this is scandalous, things could be worse, comforts Finance Minister Abbott. True, this increase is compounded on the general 10 per cent increase that the government tossed the landlords in May, 1947; on top of the 5 per cent granted October, 1948, and upon the third increase for tenants in multiple family units of 4 per cent this August, made retroactive to January 1st. But don't worry, the ceilings are still on.

"The increases would be substantially greater if rent controls were removed altogether." According to Abbott we have been all living in a fool's paradise. "All along," it seems, we "have been faced with an equitable adjustment of rental ceilings."

The ceiling may be riddled with holes but even in this sorry state it would appear to offer the people some kind of protection. Possibly it is hard for any harassed renter these days to believe that the mortgage trusts and real estate hogs could want to or even can suck out more blood than they do now. But it appears that they have their eyes on bigger stakes, even more monstrous increases.

The Toronto Globe and Mail quotes "a spokesman for a trust company" as characterizing the 20-25 per cent hoist as a little test "to see how total decontrol will go over."

Even the last tattered remnants of the rental controls have been under the assault of the landlords. Lower courts have ruled them ultra vires and the question is



SASK. LEGISLATION TANGLED UP AND JUNKED BY HOSTILE COURTS

By ROSS DOWSON

After having quashed an order of the Saskatchewan Labor Relations Board, certifying the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees (CCL) as bargaining agent for the employees of the Capital Cab Company in Regina, Chief Justice J. T. Brown of the Saskatchewan Court of King's Bench has dictatorially refused to permit an appeal against his decision.

This bureaucratic and high handed rejection of the unanimous finding of a Labor Board which administers labor laws passed by the first CCF government in Canada should arouse Canadian labor. Not only in that it is an incredibly brazen case of boss use of the judiciary which is beyond the control of the elected CCF M.P.'s who have the support of the majority of the people of that province and who have passed labor legislation which has the approval of organized Canadian labor. But because it highlights the fact that whole slabs of progressive legislation enacted by the CCF government have been junked, declared ultra vires, or inoperative by organs of the capitalist state apparatus.

Marjorie Cooper, vice chairman of the Saskatchewan Labor Board, points out that the judge in denying his leave to appeal with the remark that "It would be an outrage to force unionization under such circumstances and I will not in any way facilitate such a result" in essence exposes his fear and his belief that an appeal would mean a reversal of his judgment.

The vice-chairman in her defence of the Board's certification revealed that if the Board erred in any way it could only be in that it failed to fully exercise its powers to defend the rights of the workers by not laying charges of rank discrimination against the company. Her story was one of wholesale and vicious intimidation, fir-

ings of unionists and compulsion of new employees to sign personnel cards asking if they were members of a union.

This bureaucratic legal assault on CCF Saskatchewan legislation isn't the first nor by any means the most important one. The main object of the Big Business inspired assault has been the Saskatchewan labor legislation. The CCF labor code, despite great weaknesses, has won widespread sympathy and support from organized labor across the country. It certainly isn't all that it could or should be. Instead of legislating the CCL's 40-hour week, the Saskatchewan work week is 44 hours and in some areas 48 hours. The minimum wage rates are highly discriminatory to workers in the smaller towns and in certain trades. But despite its many weaknesses and deficiencies Saskatchewan's is more advanced than any other province's.

Last fall the Privy Council in London handed down its findings on the Saskatchewan Trade Union Act of 1944 which was challenged by Melville East, head of the John East Iron Works and now president of that anti-labor powerhouse, The Canadian Manufacturers Association. The act had been already declared ultra vires by the Saskatchewan Court of Appeals.

After long and costly hearings the Privy Council upheld the act, but it was a pyrrhic, a hollow, victory for the Saskatchewan government. While finding that the law was within the authority of the Labor Board, the Privy Council threw the implementation of the

power back into the laps of the "safe" Saskatchewan Court of Appeals which promptly quashed the Labor Board's findings.

When the Labor Board appealed the matter again, this time to the Supreme Court at Ottawa, the Su-

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SASK. LAWS JUNKED

(Continued from page 1)

preme Court dismissed the application, thus relieving the John East Iron Works from having to reinstate employees they had fired for union activity or pay them back wages.

This spring the Supreme Court struck a sharp blow at Saskatchewan minimum wage legislation by ruling that the provincial legislation on minimum wages does not apply to employees of the federal government within that province.

The Farm Security Act, designed to protect farmers from loss of properties during depression and crop failure years by declaring a debt moratorium, suffered an even worse fate. This progressive legislation was ruled ultra vires of the provincial government by the Supreme Court of Canada because it was legislation relating to the capitalist holy of holies, interest.

The Privy Council upheld the Supreme Court's decision and wiped out this legislation.

That the Privy Council, the Supreme Court and provincial judiciary bodies have hamstringing the CCF Saskatchewan government's

movement" or who even "constantly pursues policies and activities" that might be alleged to aid in achieving the programs of such movements. This amendment could readily be interpreted to apply to anyone who dares to differ with Murray's policies on foreign affairs and domestic politics.

Two other amendments give Murray's Executive Board power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any Board member who is found to be "ineligible" under the ban and to revoke the charter or expel any affiliated union that does not carry out "the objectives and policies" of the CIO as laid down by the Murray bureaucracy.

First victim of the ban was Ben Gold, Stalinist head of the CIO Fur and Leather Workers whom Murray ruled ineligible to serve on the Board. The fate of nine other leaders nominated for the Executive Board and ten "suspect" unions has been left to the mercy of Murray dominated committees to "air the charges."

Emboldened by this clean sweep Murray pushed through an amendment to boost per capita taxes to the CIO from 8 cents a member per month to 10 cents. The token opposition of the top bureaucrats to the Taft-Hartley anti-communist affidavits was dropped by a vote that the CIO's top officers sign up.

legislation and subverted the democratic will of the people of that province is in itself not surprising. The capitalist state apparatus, yes, even in "democratic" Canada is so devised as to check, modify, or cancel out, any legislation that would effectively curb the voracious appetites and totalitarian drive of the giant monopolies that rule this country.

But what about the CCF leadership? Aren't these blows at Saskatchewan legislation setting dangerous precedents that will confront the CCF when it is lifted into power by the workers in other provinces? The CCF leaders have taken these blows lying down. They are completely passive, they have scarcely mentioned these facts in the pages of their press or within the ranks of the party. Their opposition to this assault has been demonstrated only in the courts.

It is necessary to rouse the workers to protest these subversions of their democratic rights. Only a conscious and determined working class will force the capitalist class and their flunkies to recognize the will of the masses.

11-01-1

(76) Nov. 1949

FRATRICIDAL STRIFE ENGULFS UE LOCALS

By JEAN LaPLANTE

The fratricidal war set off by the expulsion of the Stalinist dominated United Electrical Workers from the CIO at the Cleveland convention has flared up in several points in Canada. The powder had been set in advance at the Ottawa CCL convention last month when the Mosher-Conroy machine were upheld in their suspension of the five top Canadian UE officers including Canadian director C. S. Jackson.

The struggle for control over the 25,000 electrical workers organized in the UE, which is the third largest group in the CCL and the CIO, is being waged in dozens of plants. Some of the largest locals have not yet been heard from, but several have already taken their stand with the Murray sponsored and unofficially CCL-CIO backed International Union of Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

At Guelph the Leland Electric local voted unanimously to stay in the CIO. Phillips Electric at Brockville and GE employees at Cobourg have also voted overwhelmingly against the Jackson forces. At Welland a meeting of Electro-Metallurgical workers has been reported as having endorsed the UE leadership.

The hot spot, however, has been the General Electric plant at Peterborough—Local 524 and its 3,200 members. The Jackson forces have

taken out an injunction restraining the local executive led by John Morton from acting as officers of the local and using local funds, but the overwhelming majority of the membership support the Morton forces. At present a campaign is going on to sign up the local membership in the new CIO electrical union. The campaign received the endorsement of 1,270 members at a mass meeting which unanimously voted to stay in the CIO.

While the UE officially remains affiliated to the CCL-CIO the Mosher-Conroy machine is backing up the anti-Jackson forces to the hilt. It is now only a matter of time before the UE will be suspended by the CCL-CIO Executive and then expelled.

The Stalinists in their rearguard action are bitterly appealing for the support of the rank and file with the words "unity" and "democracy" on their lips. But their long record of crimes is closing the ears of the rank and file. Everything they say about the top CCL leaders, red baiters, agents of the bosses, warmongers, bureaucrats, all of it is true. But that doesn't put the Stalinists, Trotsky baiters, agents of the Kremlin, bureaucrats, in any better light.

It is indisputable that in the struggle against the Stalinists many opportunists and right wingers are making hay and will take over many important positions. The task confronting the militants, however, is to stay in the CIO and to build their own principled opposition to the bureaucrats and misleaders of labor of both stripes.

11-01-2

LABOR CHALLENGE

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

Published by

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY,
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November, 1949

The Trust-busting Blow-up

We'll plug the loopholes in the anti-combines legislation, promised Justice Minister Garson in a reply last week to an official communication from the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO). Secretary-Treasurer Conroy asked that action be taken against the government-declared combines in the Prairie bread-making industry and the optical goods industry and that government investigations commenced in the flour milling industry almost two years ago be published.

Two days later the whole thing blew up in the government's face. F. A. McGregor, for many years Commissioner under the Combines Investigations Act, along with one of his two deputies, planked his resignation down on "trust buster" Garson's desk.

McGregor exposes the Liberal "free enterprisers" and "trust busters" as having for years hog-tied the anti-combines commission from carrying out its supposed tasks. What's more he reveals that the Liberal government is in collusion with the powerful plunder barons who have a stranglehold on Canadian economy.

McGregor's investigations have not only revealed that there are price fixing, profit gouging agreements between various powerful sections of Canadian capitalism, such as the optical and bread trusts who have been found guilty and against whom the government has laid no prosecutions. His sleuthing around Maple Leaf Milling and Ogilvie Mills led him right up to the office of Donald Gordon, then chairman of the Government Prices Board. Gordon has just been rewarded the plum of commander-in-chief of the Canadian National Railways.

Mr. Gordon, who was appointed by the government to "guard" the people from wartime profiteering, was found by McGregor to have instructed his flour administrator, who accidentally happened to be head of one of the big milling companies, to suggest to the flour milling bosses that they pocket an across-the-board increase from \$27 per ton to \$37 per ton in millfeed. Cash registers rang up a \$4 a barrel increase in the price of flour and a terrific boost in the price of bread.

This little episode should be shoved down the throat of the next "labor statesman" who dares to attempt to peddle the lie that there is even a shadow of difference between the Liberals and Tories. In Ottawa sit the Liberals, darlings, defenders, partners of the profit-gouging, booty-bloated trustards.

Two Democracies

The Coldwell's and the Lewis' never tire of boasting about the democratic character of the CCF. According to them the CCF is permeated with the spirit of democracy from top to bottom. The worker members, the left, have equal rights and obligation with the leadership.

This of course is the vision of capitalist society that the Trestrails and other capitalist pen prostitutes would have us believe. But in both stories this "truth" is only surface deep. Under capitalism there is only genuine democracy for the rich—the rulers of this society. In the CCF there is only genuine democracy for the CCF leaders and every right wing element.

The top CF leaders can fly in the face of and trample on every concept upon which the CCF is supposed to be based—and with complete impunity. Everyone knows that the CCF leaders committed the party to support of the At-



Nagasaki after the explosion of a single atomic b.m.b. This populous the war until American militarists marked it for annihilation. Nev through work carried out at Chalk River in co-operation with Wall bomb look like a firecracker. Only the overthrow of capitalism anism will prevent Nagasaki's horrors being repeated in all the world

lantic "War" Pact without consultation with the membership and in the face of widespread opposition within the movement.

Last month Murray Cotterill, a national leader of the CCF and the director of the Canadian Congress (CIO) Political Action Committee, whose professed purpose is to win the workers to put a CCF government in power, had this to say to the IWA convention; "Organized labor has no desire to run a country—we don't want to kick out a dictatorship of employers and create a dictatorship of labor... we just want a fair democratic say..."

But the working people who have voted CCF have had a "say" in the government for many years. They want the CCF to become a majority, to run this country. Cotterill's contention that this would be a dictatorship, in the sense that it wouldn't reflect the interests of the vast majority of the Canadian people, as the employer's dictatorship that exists today, is a slander lifted from the bosses' arsenal of lies.

In an Ontario provincial by-election last month the CCF failed to run a candidate. The CCF leadership did everything they could to support the Liberal but issue an official directive from the National Office. Prominent CCFers and leaders in CCL unions publicly announced their support of the Liberal candidate.

Yes! there is absolute democracy for the top leadership of the CCF and every right wing anti-socialist tendency in the movement. But what about the left wing? Following the election debacle Coldwell lost no time in hinting a purge of the B.C. section whose majority opposes the Pact.

It's true that there have been no expulsions in B.C.—yet. In view of this many of the left wing continue to prattle about the wide democracy in the CCF for the left as well as for the right. But this illusion remains only because the left, despite its fundamental criticism of the Coldwell leadership, has remained almost completely silent. It hasn't taken its own position seriously. It hasn't tested the Coldwell's leadership's tolerance.

The B.C. left controls or at the least has considerable strength on the editorial board of the CCF News but the pages of the CCF News do not reflect this in any way. In fact the editors have closed the columns to any further discussion on the fundamental problems confronting the CCF. The right wing protested that this type of discussion should not be published in the public press but internally through the medium of a discussion bulletin. But so far there has been no internal bulletin.

The continued silence of the B.C. left, its failure to call a conference and to attempt to consolidate its forces around a concrete program may well preserve the myth of democracy in the CCF—by resulting in the disintegration of this so promising development in opposition to the CCF leadership's ruinous course.

11-01-3

You've Got to Pay for What You Get

Sir John A. MacDonald's cabinet looted the public treasury and gave millions of acres of choice lands stretching across the continent to the CPR. In return for this favor they got \$350,000 for party campaign funds. Sir Wilfred Laurier's government opened up the public coffers and bestowed favors right and left to its machine. T. A. Burrows, M.P., brother-in-law of the Minister of the Interior, was given Crown Lands for \$55,000 which were valued two years later at one million dollars.

Remember the Beauharnois Scandal? A parliamentary commission lifted the veil to expose that the Beauharnois Syndicate bolstered up Liberal party campaign funds with the sum of \$700,000. And just to play it safe, to make sure they were on the winning side, President Sweezy of Beauharnois slipped John Aird Jr., who represented himself as speaking for the Conservative party, a cool \$125,000.

What's there in it for me? The CPR bosses, the Beauharnois Syndicate knew there was plenty in it and they came across. If you hope to hear a tune, if you want to call it—you have to pay the piper.

The profit-fat monopolists of Bay and St. James Streets call the tune by throwing the dough—our dough—into the Liberal and Tory par-

ties. They gobble up newspapers and magazines, buy out radio stations and purchase the minds of unscrupulous men. They are class conscious. They know big things are at stake in the battle for the minds of the masses. They know you don't get something for nothing and they are prepared to pay the shot.

What about you? Are you class conscious, conscious of your interests, and are you willing to pay the shot? Have you sent in your donation to the \$1,500 Labor Challenge financial drive? If you are as conscious of your interests as the Sweezy's and the CPR bosses, you'll come across. You will dig down deep and send as much as you possibly can into Labor Challenge.

We have no posts to hand out, no lush contracts, or profitable parcels of public lands. You'll receive no public acclaim for your action. You won't even be able to deduct the amount from your income tax if you are lucky enough

to be in that pay category.

All we can hand out is the truth in the pages of Labor Challenge. And all that there is in it for you is some satisfaction, satisfaction that you have struck a blow for the future, that you have aided Labor Challenge to carry on its struggle against war and depression — for socialism.

And that's plenty, there could be no bigger pay-off.

If you haven't joined the ranks of Labor Challenge supporters yet, do it now! How much do we want? Just as much as you can possibly give us. At half time we have managed to roll up almost one third of our objective of \$1,500.00.

Here is the standing:

Toronto	\$192.00
Windsor	100.00
Other Ontario points	32.00
Vancouver	40.00
B.C. Outside Vancouver	9.05
Montreal	33.00
Saskatchewan	10.00
Alberta	5.00
Total	\$421.05

What about you? We need your help now to go over the top.

Everybody Welcome

Vancouver Forums:

Nov. 24—THE TITO-STALIN CONFLICT

Dec. 8—WHITHER CHINA?

Jan. 12—THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE CROSSROADS

Swedish Community Hall (Hastings at Clark Drive)

8 p.m.

Toronto Forums:

Nov. 20 — THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY AND ITS LEFT WING

Dec. 4 — WHERE IS THE YUGOSLAV CP GOING?

87 King St. W. — Room 5

8 p.m.

RWP ENTERS TORONTO ELECTIONS



Runs Ross Dowson for Mayoralty On Fighting Program for Workers

DEC. 9.—Flinging a challenge at Tory Mayor McCallum to step into the field of rent controls, vacated by the Liberal government of Ottawa and side-stepped by the Tory provincial government, to protect the people of Toronto from this cruel Christmas "present" of the real estate and mortgage trusts, Ross Dowson, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers' Party, opened his nomination speech at City Hall today and his campaign for Mayor of Toronto.

While McCallum indicated that he had the power to make this move and freeze rents, he pretended that it was not possible to do anything until the Supreme Court hands down its decision on the validity of federal rent controls some time next spring—too late to prevent the 15 to 22 per cent increase from crashing down upon thousands of Toronto renters on December 15th.

The overwhelming majority of Canadians are unalterably opposed to the rent hike. They need low-rent housing and rent control. Why is it, then, that outside of Saskatchewan, where the CCF government has announced its intention to step in on behalf of the tenants, this vast percentage of the population has been frustrated and its interests spurned with arrogant sneers?

It is because the big bosses, whose profits are coined out of the sweat and toil of the masses, have a stranglehold not only on the economy of Canada, but on its seats of government as well. They have flunkies like McCallum and his Tory Council to do their political dirty-work for them, just as they organize scabs and muscle-men to do their strikebreaking.

This year the organized labor movement has once more failed to challenge the Tory administration for the highest municipal office. Rather than permit the Tory party machine which dominates City Hall



ROSS DOWSON

in the interests of labor's enemies to retain their power by default, the Toronto Branch of the Revolutionary Workers' Party is again running Ross Dowson for the highest post in this second largest city in Canada, against McCallum and "common sense government" advocate, ex-police constable, C. H. Mahoney.

Once more Toronto workers, in scanning the nomination lists published in the daily press, have seen the Who's Who of managers, bar-risters and executives headed by one of their own — "Dowson, Ross — steelworker."

While only 32 years of age, Dowson has been active in the labor movement in the Toronto area for 15 years. A steelworker by trade, he is a former member of the CIO United Steelworkers Acme Screw and Gear local. He is a veteran of World War II.

WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVE

In 1936, after prominent participation in the unemployed youth movement, he decided to join the struggle to reorganize our crumbling society on a rational basis and bring that new birth of freedom, peace and prosperity which is socialism.

He joined the Workers Party, organized by Jack MacDonald and a group of militants expelled from the Communist Party for their struggle to uphold the principles of revolutionary socialism from the corrupting and poisonous influence

→ to p. 2

Still Time to Rally Masses To Fight Against Rent Hike

Special to Labor Challenge

MONTREAL.—Only a few days remain before Dec. 15, the date set by the federal Liberal government for the 18 to 22 per cent. rent hike. It now appears almost certain that, outside of Saskatchewan, the landlords, big real estate interests and trust companies will have their way.

Montreal workers will be among the hardest hit. Over 90 per cent. of working class and middle class families in Canada's metropolis are tenants. It is here that the greatest outcry against this attack on the workers' standard of living has been heard. Postcard and petition campaigns, and a junket to Ottawa by one group to interview Finance Minister Abbott, have so far brought little results.

Statements of federal government spokesmen, made to turn aside the enraged outcries of the masses, that not many landlords would take advantage of the increase, proved their value here this week. In less than three days, almost all of the 200,000 rent increase forms in the French language (the English forms hadn't yet arrived) were picked up by the proprietors or their agents from the rent control office in

has served only as a means of getting publicity for its leaders.

Another group, led by an Anglican minister, and calling itself the Quebec Federation of Tenants, organized a special train to Ottawa. Only about 200 persons made the trip, including some representatives from Stalinist controlled unions. After this uneventful trip and a few sharp words with Abbott this organization has not been heard from.

But there is still time! If enough mass pressure is organized even at this late date the governments, federal and provincial, can be made to retreat.

LINEADIV

12-01-1a

The Issues In This Election

HEAR ROSS DOWSON

RWP CANDIDATE
FOR MAYOR OF TORONTO

at the
Labor Lyceum
348 SPADINA AVE.

Sunday, Dec. 18, 8 p.m.

of Stalinism. They had made common cause with an identical struggle carried on by Trotsky in the Russian Bolshevik Party.

In 1946 he was elected National Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers' Party. Dowson is well known as the editor of *Labor Challenge*, one of the party's most prominent speakers, and a tireless fighter for the cause of the working class.

The capitalist press, which blacked out the RWP campaign last year, has already shown fear and hatred of its aims, which represent the interests of labor. The *Telegram* labeled as "highly inflammatory". Dowson's characterization of the City Hall time-servers in his nomination speech as "agents of the big monopolists extending the rule of the financial oligarchy." The *Globe and Mail* is riled by Dowson's candidature "to keep his objective of the overthrow of capitalism" before the community."

Over 23,500 Toronto workers last year expressed their desire to determine their own fate by casting their ballots for the candidate of the RWP. Who can doubt, in the face of this magnificent showing made despite great material limitations of propaganda, that the RWP campaign, backed by the organized labor movement, 90,000 strong, could elect a labor mayor in this industrial heart of Canada?

In this fourth year of the RWP's Toronto mayoralty campaign, it has become the major labor campaign in the civic elections. A mighty vote for Dowson this year will prove a most powerful stimulant to the labor movement nationally, more or less passive since the defeat of the CCF in the federal elections.

Dowson pointed out that Mayor McCallum, in attempting to justify his refusal to take over rent controls, gave as an excuse that "Administration would be a difficult question. We don't know whom we could decide upon as administrator." An RWP candidate in office would place the administration of rent control in the hands of those directly concerned — representatives of the trade unions and tenant's organizations such as the

(Continued on page 4)

the workers should take over the factories, the mines and all the sources of wealth, and plan production for the needs of the people rather than the profit of the bosses. The objective of the RWP is socialism; the only lasting solution to the deepening crisis of society.

The campaign of the RWP is a long step forward in the preparation of the Canadian workers for the great struggles which lie ahead on the road to achievement of this goal.

Paper Fund Drive At Two-third Mark Last Push Needed

Times are tougher. Jim Seward had to rebuild his house and the crop was no good this year. A Windsor comrade has been working short time, he is now unemployed and could give, not nothing, but very little. Times are tougher. But the need is as great if not greater that Labor Challenge keep coming out carrying the inspiring message of socialism.

Dozens and dozens of Labor Challenge pluggers must have said that to themselves. And not stopped with just the observation. For they have rallied to its aid to the tune of \$1044.50.

That's not our objective. We need much more. But right now we want \$455.50 more. We have two weeks to get it as we want to close off the campaign on December 15th, to clear the decks for the important work of utilizing this money and this paper to bring socialism closer in Canada.

Can we do it? Well, \$1044.50 is a good sign that we can. It's up to you! So far the response has been good.

Windsor comrades with the helpful aid of several supporters have done by far the most phenomenal job. They have sent in \$252.63. Prince Rupert scored the highest it has ever done in any of our drives with the final total of \$50.55. Vancouver has forwarded \$97 so far. Fifteen dollars of this was turned over by a friend on behalf of Ocean Falls. Comrade Ellaline writes us that despite unemployment and other tragedies that have struck some of our supporters "we will not let up our efforts." She reports that they have another \$38 pledged and hope to bring the total to \$200 by the close of the drive. Friends from Hamilton, Stratford and Welland boosted our campaign chest \$58.00.

Just recovering from illness, Harry Noakes at Magna Bay sends us another \$5 with "the hope that the drive will be a success." The Prairies total \$25 through the efforts of Jim Seward, a friend at Saskatoon and another at Moon Lake. Montreal is coming along with \$87.82 and we hope with more to arrive yet.

Toronto is having a tougher battle this year. Vern tells us that they have had splendid support, but the individual contributions have been smaller. Scores of workers have kicked in to raise the total to \$466.50, and there are pledges of another \$100. Toronto needs another \$200 to reach its objective.

Only \$455.50 to go. If you have done your part, thanks! If you haven't, send in your contribution to Labor Challenge, 87 King Street West, Room 5, Toronto, Ont.

CCF-LPP Policy On Civic Elections

Up for discussion at this month's Alberta CCF Provincial convention is a resolution asking this section to rescind a previous resolution which forbade the CCF organizations in the cities to take part in civic elections. In Vancouver the CCF is running under its banner, four for School Board and three for Park Board. In Regina for the first time in years the CCF ran an extensive slate.

But the situation is far different in Toronto. The CCF is running no one for the Board of Control (the city executive council) and, is challenging only six of the 18 aldermanic seats and only two out of 18 posts on the Board of Education. This count may not be quite accurate for it is difficult to tell what candidates happen to be CCF.

Whether CCF candidates would be required to run under the CCF political label was a question of prolonged debate at the CCF Toronto Area Executive. The executive resolved this "ticklish" question by dropping the decision into the laps of the clubs. The Spadina Club nomination meeting passed a resolution, after hearing Board of Education member Herbert Orliffe protest that it would be political suicide for him to run under the party banner, that all Spadina riding candidates be required to run under the CCF label. Orliffe was subsequently nominated but refused to accept the nomination under such conditions, although making it known that he intended to run again this year. The club thereupon decided not to run anyone in opposition to Orliffe and turned the question of running as CCFers back to the executive for reconsideration.

Few if any of those who are known in political circles as CCFers intend to run under the political label of the CCF, succumbing to the pressure of the capitalist po-

litical machines which have managed to maintain a stranglehold on civic politics by propagating the myth that municipal affairs are non-partisan and non-political. The successful exploitation of this myth has also helped the capitalist Liberal and Tory parties to maintain a base for their provincial and federal election machines.

The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, which on sundry occasions still likes to parade as communist, hopes to sneak into office by the same tactic of hiding its identity. The LPP is running again this year for Board of Control, Stewart Smith, one of the party's most prominent spokesmen and a former member of the Board.

If it weren't for the red baiting and the memory of some workers of a distant revolutionary past of the Stalinist movement, Smith would be indistinguishable from the more demagogic Liberal or Tory candidates. Smith's campaign is devoid of any class, any labor content. His main stock-in-trade is building himself up as an able, sane, administrator in contrast to the present "bungling," "inept" administration.

The Revolutionary Workers Party, running for the most important post in civic office, is the only tendency in the labor movement that is running openly as a political party of the working class and sharply posing the issue as it is—labor vs. capital.

MEET THE CANDIDATE NIGHT

Movies & Refreshments

DEC. 23 - at 8 p.m.

at

THE WOODSWORTH
HOUSE

565 JARVIS STREET

For Toronto Mayor

(Continued from page 1)

Emergency Housing Tenants Association.

The RWP stands for democratization of the civic franchise; for mass pressure on Ottawa to divert the funds earmarked for destructive war, to the building of hospitals, schools, day nurseries and low-rental houses.

Against the increasing threat of unemployment, the RWP advocates that hours be cut with no reduction in pay in order to prevent lay offs. A labor mayor would forward this demand by making the conditions of labor of municipal employees an example for all. The RWP believes that the working people must rule in all the organs of government, municipal, provincial and federal. It stands for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government.

It stands for an end to capitalism, with its poverty in the midst of plenty, its wars, depressions and anti-labor rule. It believes that

Help Wanted

The RWP Election Committee needs volunteer workers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

Age, sex, weight, height, immaterial.

QUALIFICATIONS: only a desire to help in the struggle for a workers' world.

HOURS OF WORK: any time you have available.

NATURE OF WORK: folding, typing, distributing election material, talking to your shop mates and voting labor on Jan. 1. Financial help also gratefully accepted.

FOR FURTHER DETAILS report to

RWP Election Headquarters
87 King St. West, Room 5
ELgin 9615

12-01-16

LABOR CHALLENGE

Published by

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY,
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December, 1949

The Real Subversives

The capitalist class on a world scale has been waging an unbridled campaign to smear the socialist movement as a monstrous conspiracy — as a movement whose purpose and aims are other than what it openly proclaims them to be.

For our part we can proudly say that all we are is contained in our press and the thousands of works that the scientific socialist movement has published and spread broadcast for the past 101 years since the Communist Manifesto was written.

In that masterwork, Karl Marx proclaimed our disdain to conceal our views and aims. We disdain to hide our views because our objective, socialism, can only be won by the winning of the majority to our ideas. The fate of the working class, and for that matter society as a whole, rests in the hands of the working class, in their will to struggle against the evils of capitalism, their ever increasing class consciousness and unity and their final victory over capitalism.

But there is a conspiracy, a monstrous conspiracy afoot. The conspirators are none other than the very forces that cloak themselves in the guise of utmost respectability — the capitalist class and their entourage of apologists and bootlickers. They sit ensconced in the highest seats of public office. They are the pillars of respectability.

On November 7, Pope Pius in the name of "higher morality" ordered Catholic jurists to ignore, evade, misinterpret, misapply and violate governmental laws that are in conflict with the dogmas and decrees of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The Pope laid down four principles to guide Catholic jurists. 1. A Catholic judge "cannot shirk responsibility for his decisions and place the blame on the law and its authors." 2. The judge "can never pass a sentence which would oblige those affected by it to perform an intrinsically immoral act, that is, an act which in itself is contrary to the law of God and the church." 3. "Under no circumstances can a judge acknowledge and approve an unjust law."

Under the implied threat of sin and its penalties, a devout Catholic must oppose any laws the people may want if the Church disapproves of them, he must deny freedom of speech, press and assembly to those with views which the Vatican has stigmatized.

And take Premier Smallwood of Newfoundland. Remember what he told the voters at Ferryland last summer?

"Unless you vote for my man you'll be out in the cold for the next four years . . . I'm sitting right on top of the public chest and not one red cent will come out of it for Ferryland district unless Greg Power is elected . . . I'll know this time exactly how you voted . . . I'll know what settlements were for me and what ones against me . . . Those settlements which vote against Greg Power will get nothing — absolutely nothing."

Talk about conspiracy! What about the government's conspiracy in withholding the McGregor report on the mill-

ing industry which provoked Tory M.P. and chief opposition financial critic, James Macdonnell, to charge Trade Minister Howe, who flagrantly demonstrated his utter contempt for the house, with being "an authoritarian. If he will not object to my saying it, I will say he is a Fascist, a nice Fascist who by chance has got into a democratic assembly."

Not only did the government withhold a report of one of its departments far past the time legally required for its publication. It was exposed to be in alliance with the very monopolies which it professed to be attempting to curb in setting price increases and in devising methods of hiding the milling trusts' wild orgy of profiteering from the public.

And these subversive elements charge us socialists with conspiracy! The capitalist system itself, and all the evils that flow from it, is nothing more nor less than a conspiracy against mankind.

Coldwell's War Stand

The support given by Coldwell and the rest of the CCF parliamentary group to the defense budget — which this year robs every man, woman and child in Canada of \$28 to prepare the destruction of humanity — must be condemned by all CCF'ers who wish to carry on a sincere and uncompromising struggle against these war preparations which are proceeding at a feverish rate throughout the capitalist world.

The pacifist Regina Manifesto, the official statement of policy adopted by the CCF at its founding convention in 1933, and never revised or repudiated, takes a clear-cut stand on this issue. It states:

"We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars . . . Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism."

What does Coldwell, who is supposed to be bound by this declaration, say?

"We support the defence estimates made necessary by the uncertain international situation."

The workers, in other words, must prepare once again to shed their blood to "resolve" the capitalist crisis caused by production for profit rather than use.

Percy Wright (CCF M.P., Melfort) made his contribution to the defence estimate debate by advising the government the best way to prepare for another war. He calls for coordination of Canada's armed forces with other countries, and instructs them that the next war will be won or lost on technical advances made in the next few years.

The anti-capitalist, anti-war struggle cannot be led by men who consider it their task to restrict their criticism of the war preparations to a few words of friendly advice to the government on how they can best arrange their defense expenditures, or at most to a few pacifist lamentations on the sad state of world affairs.

NO! The struggle against war is first and fundamentally a struggle against the capitalist system which is the cause of war. The fight must be taken up by those who will point to the heart of the problem, capitalism, and who will raise as their slogans; "Not one cent for capitalist war preparations," "Refuse to vote for the capitalist war expenditures!"

12-01-2

FIRST MAYOR OF TORONTO LED REVOLT AGAINST TORIES

Some time this month there will be a ceremonial opening of a house at 12 Bond Street in the heart of Toronto. This house was the gift of the citizens of Toronto to William Lyon MacKenzie, elected the first mayor of the city in 1834. It has been restored and will be opened as a museum following the ceremony.

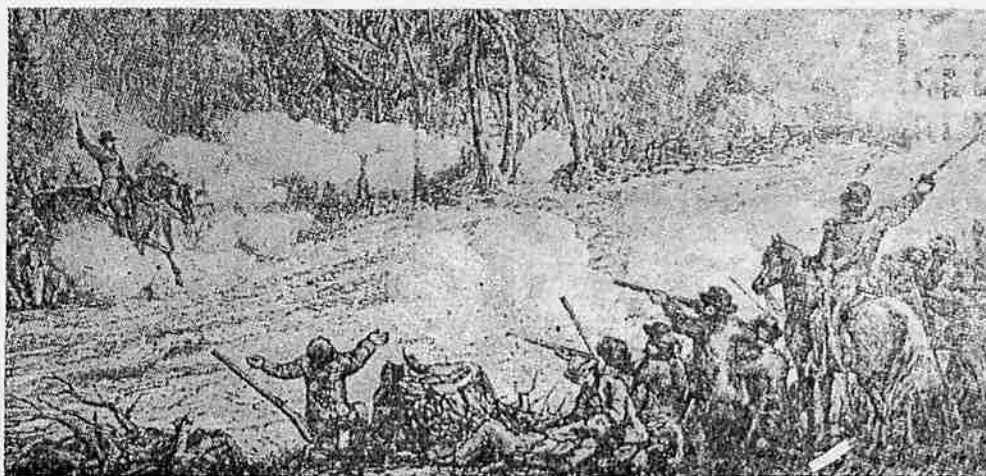
McCallum, Tory mayor of Toronto 1948-1949, political flunky and stooge for the Bay Street financial oligarchy—Tory Mayor Hiram McCallum has been invited to pay the homage of the citizens of Toronto to the memory of William Lyon MacKenzie, W. L. M. King, a grandson of MacKenzie, leader of the Liberal Party since the death of Laurier, intimate of the Rockfellers, father of company unionism, chief representative and spokesman of the capitalist rulers of this country for three decades will be on hand to interpret the significance of his grandsire's life.

What a mockery! These plump, smug, mild-mannered, bland-eyed politicians, these hacks for today's prototypes of the Family Compact whom the agitator and revolutionist William Lyon MacKenzie devoted his life to destroy, they will hold the spotlight of the ceremony. In their high and lofty manner they will broadcast homilies on the infinite progress that has been made in the settlement of class conflicts since MacKenzie issued his clarion call to insurrection on December 7th, 112 years ago. And they will heap mountain high, lies about the real character and true story of William Lyon MacKenzie — the Little Rebel.

Those who should officiate at the ceremony will not be there. There should be a representative of the housewives who are up in arms against Mr. King's party's blasting away of the rent ceilings. There should be a representative of the unemployed, who, deprived of the right to work, taste a bitter pill in King's democracy. And paying the tribute of the citizens of Toronto to their first mayor should be Ross Dowson, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party for mayor, 1950.

No matter what they say they can never wipe out the fact that William Lyon MacKenzie was the most intransigent opponent in his day of all that they represent today — that he was a revolutionist, a revolutionary democrat, and not just of the word, of the drawing room, but of the deed. That is written in pages of history that they can never destroy. It is written in the blood of Lount, Mathews, and Von Schultz, who, along with seven others, were executed. It is written in the agony of the scores of others who were forced into exile and the hundreds who languished in jails for weeks and months on end for their participation in the struggle against the financial and political oligarchy of their day.

MacKenzie spent long years of tireless, selfless struggle against this political oligarchy which he labelled the Family Compact. This clique, composed of the vested interests of the time, the wealthiest landowners, the controllers of the chartered banks, the Church of England hierarchy with its mon-



A reproduction of a print from the Public Archives of Canada depicting the armed struggle on the outskirts of Toronto at Montgomery's Tavern (The Battle of Gallows Hill) between the forces led by W. L. MacKenzie and the militia of the autocratic Family Compact in 1837. The rebels, reduced in numbers by previous skirmishes and by confusion on the part of some of their leaders, armed with pike-heads, shotguns and sporting rifles, were marching on Toronto to set up a republic. They were routed by Head's troops and MacKenzie, mayor of Toronto, was forced to flee for his life with a £1,000 reward on his head.

opoly of the vast clergy reserves, the heads of the powerful private companies engaged in public works, had a stranglehold on the organs of government. They controlled the judiciary, the Executive and Legislative Council through which they, and the Governor appointed by the British Colonial Office, turned the popularly elected Assembly into a helpless talk-shop.

In 1824 MacKenzie started publication of the *Colonial Advocate* which struck fear and hatred in the hearts of the plutocracy. In 1828 he ran and was elected member of the Legislative Assembly for York. At that session he introduced the famous 31 Resolutions enumerating the grievances that afflicted Upper Canada. Although the radicals were much weaker following the 1830 election MacKenzie was returned. His passionate struggle against the Family Compact so infuriated the Tory-dominated Assembly that in connivance with the Council and the Governor they expelled him from the House. His expulsion rallied the masses to his side who immediately re-elected him — his opponent getting only one vote. A vast crowd for the city of Toronto of those days, two to three thousand, escorted him in victory to the House. He was immediately expelled again, this time the House declaring him disqualified to be a member.

SMASH THE ASSEMBLY

In the 1835 elections MacKenzie was again elected to the Assembly, this time with a majority of Reformers. The Assembly attempted to carry out the will of the electorate but they were blocked at every turn by the bureaucracy. While the Assembly was being torn in conflict, the Governor, as a gesture of conciliation, took three Reformers into his Executive Council. But there they found that they were responsible to the Council and not the House and they resigned. The House denounced the governor and stopped supply. The Governor defied the House and dissolved Parliament.

The 1836 elections were conducted

in an atmosphere of violence and intimidation. The Governor threw himself into the struggle against the Reformers with public declarations. Armed Tory-organized mobs marched through the streets terrorizing the electorate. The Reformers were defeated. The struggle in the Assembly only became more sharp and more open. At the same time an economic crisis swept the country.

It was in this atmosphere of terror and persecution that a meeting of Reformers sent a declaration to their co-thinkers in Lower Canada and to the people at large. The declaration called for public meetings to be held throughout the province and the election of delegates to assemble at Toronto to discuss the situation and to appoint Commissioners. The Commissioners were to meet those so appointed by like rallies in Lower Canada and any of the other colonies, "armed with suitable powers as a Congress to seek an effectual remedy from the grievances of the colonists." The meeting also passed a resolution appointing a Vigilance Committee to prepare a declaration and asked MacKenzie to take over duties of agent and corresponding secretary.

Over 200 meetings were held in various parts of the province. Almost 150 Vigilance Committees, in close contact with the Central Committee at Toronto, were formed. According to Lindsey, a biographer of MacKenzie, he had 1,500 men enrolled ready to bear arms before November, 1837.

MacKenzie recalled, that at a meeting of leaders of the Vigilance Committee held in a house at the corner of Bay and Adelaide Streets, "I asked if the proper change could be obtained in any possible way short of revolution. I stated that there were two ways of effecting a revolution; one of them by organizing the farmers, who were quite prepared for resistance, and bringing them into Toronto, to unite with the Toronto people; the other, by immediate action." Then MacKenzie outlined the strategy of the

revolution.

The rebel drew up a constitution for the new government he pledged himself to fight for, an 81 article declaration of independence which he openly published in his paper, then called *The Constitution*, on November 15, 1837.

MacKenzie and the leaders of the Vigilance Committees issued the call to their followers to rally, arms in hand, on December 7 at Montgomery's Tavern outside Toronto to raise the banner of the republic over the capital. The story of the defeat of the rebel forces which could have easily taken the city, and their rout through lack of confidence in their own strength, has been told many times in history books.

The revolution led by MacKenzie went down to defeat on the field of battle. Superficial historians lay the subsequent achievement of many of the rebel's demands at the feet of such statesmen as Lord Durham and Sydenham. But their recommendations and the concessions made by the British Colonial Office were only a recognition that MacKenzie's demands were indelibly stamped in the minds of the people of Upper Canada and had to be conceded.

MacKenzie was forced to seek refuge in the United States whose government, the product of a revolution, he fervently admired. No doubt McCallum and King, if they dare to say anything about the Little Rebel at all, will comment on his subsequent return to Canada, his adjustment to the modified old regime and his disillusionment with the American Republic, as signs of mellowness brought on by increasing wisdom and experience.

It is true that MacKenzie in a sense repudiated the heroic struggle that he led in 1837. He had this to say in 1840: "Over three years residence in the United States, and a closer observation of the condition of society here, have lessened my regrets at the results of the opposition raised to England in Canada in 1837-38. I have be-

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held the American people give their dearest and most valued rights into the keeping of the worst enemies of free institutions. I have seen monopoly and slavery triumph at the popular elections, and witnessed with pain, the bitter fruits of that speculative spirit of enterprise . . . the conviction grows daily stronger in my mind that your brethren of this Union are rapidly hastening towards a state of society, in which President, Senate and House of Representatives, will fulfil the duties of Kings, Lords and Commons, and the power of the community pass from the democracy of numbers into the hands of an aristocracy, not of noble ancestry and ancient lineage, but of monied monopolists, land-jobbers and heartless politicians."

But even here, in disillusionment, MacKenzie demonstrates his deep insight and revolutionary instinct. The revolution sounded the death knell to the despotism of Kings and Lords. By the overthrow of the monarchy and the institution of democracy the way was cleared for the further development of the productive forces of society.

The rising capitalist class, who needed democracy to overcome the restrictive bonds of the old society, in turn utilized the democracy to enforce and defend their power and their rule. They gave it their class content — bourgeois democracy. Out of the revolution came, as MacKenzie described, "the monied monopolists, land jobbers, and heartless politicians"—monopoly capitalism and imperialism. But along with this rose the development of the productive forces that now make a genuine, fullsome democracy possible — socialism.

The task is to carry forward the revolution, in which MacKenzie played a sterling role, to sweep away the Family Compact of today — the Canadian capitalist class — and usher in a socialist society of peace and plenty. The RWP mayoralty campaign in the city of Toronto is an important step in this direction.

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